Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-217
Friday
12 November 1993

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Reaction to Events in Macedonia Reported

'Escalation' of Conflict Seen

AU1211095393 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—Belgrade circles have recently escalated their anti-Albanian policy and propaganda. In the first sight one can distinguish some pro-Serbian elements who have become so active. In order to improve the pre-electoral image of their chief, they ran one after the other to Belgrade for dialogue. These pro-Serbian elements such as Planes, Blacas, Imamis, Cekas, Cupes and Ternovcas represent themselves and those who encourage and hire them and not any serious Albanian political force and, so far, there is not any great worry. But right after these acts of understanding with the "Honest" Albanians, as Belgrade calls the sold-out Albanians, Milosevic warns of the great danger threatening Macedonia by the Albanian ghost, that is, Albanian separatism in the name of which he is keeping Kosova under occupation. But this time, in order to prove this danger to his Serbian brothers in Macedonia and those who are interested in the creation of Greater Serbia, Milosevic did not hurry to create, as he did two years ago, an Illyriada or Dardaniada [as received], because they turned to be abortive efforts, but he brought out of secret archives a plan hatched up in 1991 by secret agents of former Yugoslav People's Army and their collaborators in Albania and Macedonia. They had organized, filmed and archived this plan to have it at the proper moment as a document proving the activity of Albanian separatism. This plan was brought out of the archives only two days after the warning for the threat of Albanian separatism to Macedonia.

Why does Milosevic takes out of the archives an event staged three years ago and what is the objective of the fuss about it?

The objective of the fuss and smoke screen of Belgrade, which Macedonian media blindly refer to as allegedly espionage activity, civil war or uprising organized by paramilitary Albanians, whose number allegedly ranges from 300 to 2,000 and whose lists carrying names of innocent people are prepared in secret offices, is to throw mud at the Albanian factor as a factor for stability in Macedonia and in the region and to improve in some way, on the eve of elections, the image of the dictator as an aggressor in the Balkans and possibly to influence in making less harsh the international punitive measures against him.

In a prospective view, this fuss is made to legalise the further escalation of the conflict in the region, the "Fraternal" Annexation of Macedonia by Belgrade and the realisation of Greater Serbia because of the "Dangerous" Albanian factor.

But this is another opportunity for the Albanian Government to ask from the Macedonian Government to put an end to the persecution of the Albanians and not to fall into such traps. The Albanian Government also warns that those who play with Macedonia are also playing with the peace and stability in the Balkans just like those, whose aim is to destabilize the region by manipulating the Albanian factor, are playing with the fire of a Balkan war and that any effort to manipulate or stir up the Albanians today and in the future will meet with failure.

Ministry Denounces 'Shameful' Action

AU1211093593 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 12 Nov 93

["Albania-Statement—Statement of the Spokesman of the Albanian Foreign Ministry"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Albania denounces the fuss about the supposedly terrorist activity of the Albanians in Macedonia as an open Serbian attempt to destabilize the Republic of Macedonia. The recent event in Skopje, the spokesman stressed, is a disclosure of a shameful, old, carefully prepared, developed and preserved scenario of the secret services of the Yugoslav People's Army in 1991 in cooperation with their collaborators in Albania and Macedonia. Therefore, the Macedonian Government is asked to stop the terror against the Albanians and not to fall in the traps organized in Belgrade in the context of the policy of annexation of Macedonia. The Albanians too are demanded not to become victims of manipulations which aim at escalating the conflict and destabilizing Macedonia.

Macedonian Accusations Refuted

AU1211103793 Tirana ATA in English 0924 GMT 12 Nov 93

["Albanian Defense Ministry Turns Down Accusations by the Macedonian Interior Minister"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—After learning of the accusations that the Interior Minister of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Frckovski, has made in its address for arms trafficking towards the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Defense Ministry of Albania declares that it categorically turns down the accusations made to it considering them groundless and false. We declare upon our responsibility that this ministry has not given any fighting material either officially or secretly to any Albanian or foreign national.

Further on the statement says that the accusation is a dangerous plan organized by secret services of the Yugoslav People's Army in cooperation with its agents in Albania and Macedonia. This plan was hatched up, filmed and archived by this service in the Belgrade archives. The present Macedonian Government has full knowledge about it but it naively plays the game of those forces who do not seek the stability but the division of Macedonia. We may remind those who pretend not to know that this scenario has been realised and archived in the period from october 28 up to december 2, 1991.

At the end, the statement calls to put an end immediately to the terror against the Albanians and not continue with games from which only those who are interested in the destabilization and division of Macedonia and the spread of the conflict in the south will profit.

Tirana Radio Profiles Three New Ministers

AU1111060593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] After the approval of three new ministries, by a special decree yesterday, the president of the republic also appointed three new ministers:

Mr. Pjeter Dishnica is appointed minister of finances.

Mr. Selim Belortaja is appointed minister of industry and trade, while Mr. Abdyl Xhaja is appointed minister of energetics and mineral resources. Former ministers Ruli and Hoxha are dismissed as they are charged with other duties.

Yesterday Mr. Ruli presented the request for resignation to Prime Minister Meksi.

Accepting, on the basis of explanations and given arguments, the reasons for this resignation [words indistinct], Prime Minister Meksi stressed that Mr. Ruli has given a valuable contribution in drafting and successfully applying the program of the economic reform of the first democratic government. By honestly and devotedly accomplishing the duty he held up to now, the prime minister invited Mr. Ruli to give, even in the future, his experience and ability as a parliamentarian and political personality to the benefit of the further development of the economic reform and the democratic processes in Albania.

Some biographical data on the new ministers:

Piro Gaqo Dishnica. Born in Tirana on 3 December 1957. He graduated from the Faculty of Economics in Tirana in 1982. During 1980-1982 he passed the supplementary examinations in higher mathematics in the Faculty of Natural Sciences. During the academic year 1984-1985, he specialized in informatics in the Faculty of Natural Sciences. Since 1989, he has been qualified in France in the field of statistics and economic probability and he has often taken part in various short-term courses and consultations. He masters English, French, and Italian. During 1981-1986 he worked in the Institute of Economic Studies near the Academy of Sciences. In 1987, he started work as a chief in the Directorate of Statistics, the Institute of Statistics today. Since 1991 up to this April he was a director of the Directorate of Statistics near the Ministry of Finance and Economy and since that time he has been working as a general director of the Institute of Statistics near the Council of Ministers.

Selim Feti Belortaja. Born in Place in Korce District on 2 August 1955. He completed his high studies in 1978 in the Faculty of Economics, the branch of economy for industry. From 1978 up to 1981 he worked as an economist in the Trade Sales Enterprise in Korce. In September 1981, he was appointed teacher in the Faculty of Economics at Tirana University and worked in this position until August 1992. As of 1992, he has worked as chairman of the National Center of Foreign Investments, which is dependent on the Chief Ministry. He has performed a year of specialization on foreign trade and a three-months qualification course on international marketing in Germany. He has acquired the first degree of post university qualification in the field of foreign trade. He masters German, French, and Italian.

Petrolimpex Signs Agreement With British Company

AU1111212693 Tirana ATA in English 1302 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 11 (ATA)—An agreement for the supply of airplanes landing at Rinas Airport with fuels was signed November 9 between Petrolimpex (Tirana) and British Air BP Limited at the Ministry of Mineral Resources and Energy. The agreement was signed by Mr. Moorhouse, general director of British Air BP Limited, and Mr. Genc Gjoca, director of Petrolimpex.

In his address Minister Abdyl Xhaja said that the "British Air BP Limited is renowned throughout the world. We wish that other reputable British companies follow the example of Air BP Limited."

Mr. Chris Moorhouse said that the British Air BP Limited is one of the greatest companies in the world. The staff of the company comprises 9,000 persons which delivers some 11 million tons of fuels. Following the democratic changes in Eastern Europe in 1990, the British Air BP Limited has established affiliates in Hungary, Bulgaria, and other countries. Ten per cent of the staff of these centers is composed of local people. The British Air BP Limited will do the same in Albania and will install here modern equipment.

Bank Chief Seeks 'Control' Over Dollar Rate

AU1211084593 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0500 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Statement by Professor Todor Vulchev, governor of the Bulgarian National Bank, on rise in dollar exchange rate, recorded by reporter Lyubomir Stoimenov at Sofia Airport in the "late evening" of 11 November, following Vulchev's return from bankers' talks in Bratislava]

[Text] This development could have been expected. If you have been watching or closely monitoring the press, if you have noticed how long the exchange rate has remained stable in conditions of high rates of inflation—controlled, but high. It was impossible for the dollar rate not to move upwards at a faster rate—it had to happen.

Views and thoughts were expressed on this issue at different times—as far back as May-June, if you remember. Anyway, the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB] adopted a line of supporting the exchange rate, while following the market, that is, not to force the dollar exchange rate up or down, but to follow the market. However, the market was in equilibrium at the level of 27-28 leva to the dollar—more or less in equilibrium. Another line of action was possible, but the BNB Board did not adopt this line. According to this line, the bank would have stimulated a gradual rise in the dollar rate, beginning in late spring or at the start of this summer.

Be this as it may, this was the policy that was chosen. With this policy it was possible to produce an explosive development of the exchange rate, as I indeed pointed out, and now you can see that the time of this explosive development has come.

We will certainly gain control of the situation. We should not be in a hurry, because it is evident that at present it is not the inflation process within the country, but speculative features that are playing the key role in the market—in my assessment they are playing a key role. Other factors contributing to the situation are the political instability within the country, the uncertain budget position, and the difficulties with the balance of trade and balance of payments—all these elements are contributing to the situation. The bad thing is that the substantial devaluation of the lev—it has now reached 14-15 percent as compared with what it was at the beginning—will have an effect on the development of domestic prices.

Dogan Interviewed on New Course, Minorities

AU1011100493 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 30 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, by Radoslav Gulubov; place and date not given: "Ahmed Dogan Says: We Made a Turn, But to the Center, Rather Than to the Left"]

[Text] [Gulubov] Mr. Dogan, you attended the National Conference of the Civil Alliance for the Republic [GOR]. What is your attitude to GOR?

[Dogan] The establishment of the alliance was a demonstration of political courage, in my view. As far as common features between GOR and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] are concerned, I would say that, just as we have spent the last four years proving that we are not a purely ethnic organization, GOR members are now expected to prove how much they differ from the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] and from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. It is a very difficult and dramatic act of self-assertion and self-confirmation. GOR can hardly assert itself as a political structure, as long as it has not succeeded in this particular struggle.

[Gulubov] What is the difference between GOR and the OSD?

[Dogan] While the OSD is trying to renew the BSP's party organism from the inside, GOR has adopted both the internal and external principles of innovation. The GOR members should try to find themselves and consolidate their new image. At this stage of development their image is still confused, because no clear programmatic distinctions exist. I am saying this as a politician. GOR's whole activities have so far exhausted themselves in declarations and in drafting theoretical models of transition, but no specific actions have been accomplished. It is, precisely, the lack of action that dilutes the image of the organization, and as long as this attitude does not promptly change, GOR can hardly rely on a future re-distribution of the electorate.

[Gulubov] You recently stated that the DPS has become increasingly disappointed with the BSP as a partner....

[Dogan] We have never regarded our relations with the BSP on the basis of partnership. We are cooperating with them without any preliminary strategic goals. It is an "ad hoc" partnership related to certain bills in parliament, to some specific articles in legal acts, and so forth. We have never shared a comprehensive strategy of action with the BSP and we shall never do so. As far as GOR is concerned, we may even reflect on a real partnership with them, but the most important thing is to adopt a specifically drafted program of action. Nevertheless, it should be a program of pragmatic action.

Such are our principles applying to relations with all political formations. I was deeply impressed with the philosophical aspects of Tomov's report to the GOR conference. He defended the thesis that only a well-balanced development can guarantee a moderate and balanced development of the reform process and a transition to democracy without unnecessary upheavals. I am convinced that in its programmatic theses GOR has deliberately avoided the reference to specific principles, related to its ideological doctrine. In my view, a great discrepancy exists between GOR's objectives and its actions. Without having adopted any ideological doctrine, the GOR members are trying to draft some sort of

pragmatic program, based on individual principles and strategies. I could not understand from Mr. Tomov's report how the well-balanced development that he thoroughly explained should guarantee the transition to market economy.

I would like to explain my words from a purely political point of view, as follows: If President Clinton, starting from the position of an unbalanced development, launches the paradigm of balanced development and calls it "left-wing liberalism," how could we, starting a social structure based on the principles of a planned and centralized economy, try to build up a balanced model? This is a contradiction. Our social structure is the result of a long-term established, centralized economy, of a planned and proportional development of society. Now we are again insisting that also the transition to a market economy should be balanced. I do not understand how a balanced model of transition to a market economy could be developed. These are important ideological issues, in my view, and as long as they are not clarified, I do not see how we could reach a consensus on the basic principles of cooperation.

[Gulubov] Should this mean that you are recommending GOT to adopt a more right-wing trend?

[Dogan] Yes, I think that in the political landscape of the BSP, the OSD, and GOR, the latter has not found its ideological place, which presumably results from GOR's efforts to avoid the affiliation with specific doctrines. However, the GOR leaders are going too far in doing so, because one cannot build a comprehensive model of political behavior without a doctrine. Let alone the fact, that I have never heard of a balanced model for transition. I am convinced that the development of this model is a highly responsible task and cannot be accomplished without a specific doctrine. Nevertheless, I was pleased with the GOR forum as a very positive beginning. I am convinced that Mr. Tomov is capable of completing the structure of the balanced model, not only as a theory, but also on a pragmatic basis. This is an important question. It is not merely a theoretical-politological word play, because if we accept Clinton's left-wing liberalism and adopt a balanced model, we could have remained entirely in the left-wing spectrum and renounced the market economy. No partnership is possible as long as this point has not been clarified.

[Gulubov] Nevertheless, not too long ago you promised a "turn to the left"?

[Dogan] Yes, but it was actually a turn to the center by which we distanced ourselves from an extremely right-wing program. Our electorate needs social protection. There are too many socially disadvantaged people among our constituents, but we shall never allow such a turn to result in a revival of communism or socialism. For the time being, I consider the idea of a balanced development as a cover for a planned economy. Hence, I insist on a clarification of the issue, because if the question remains unexplained, while we establish our contacts with GOR, it would exert a negative impact upon our relations.

[Gulubov] In Kurdzhali you declared your intention of seeking contact with the Union of Democratic Forces and you announced a new distribution of forces in parliament.

[Dogan] GOR and the OSD are serious factors with whom it is possible to re-structure parliament, but only under the condition that they should adopt clear programmatic stands, so as to build a strategy of joint action with them. I consider GOR as a new phenomenon. It is ahead of the OSD and has even obliterated the latter's image. GOR deserves to be supported, but only to the extent to which it conforms with our common political interests.

[Guluvbov] You are not saying anything about the New Alliance for Democracy [NSD]?

[Dogan] The NSD as the fourth parliamentary group, GOR, and OSD—they all represent the new political realities. We have every reason to assume that in the case of a new parliamentary majority and in view of a re-distribution of political forces, the aforementioned groups will by all means play a role, and I even think that we could expect this to happen within the coming weeks.

[Gulubov] Is the new parliament structure likely to promote Mr. Ludzhev [NSD leader] as the new prime minister?

[Dogan] The new structure is hardly likely to accept the idea, let alone the realistic prospect of Mr. Ludzhev's becoming prime minister. Rumors were recently spread about Prime Minister Berov's forthcoming resignation and about the president allegedly intending to appoint Mr. Ludzhev as the prime minister of a caretaker cabinet. I would like to be clearly aware of the forthcoming realities. I am now expressing both my own view and that of the DPS because we always keep abreast of developments. Mr. Ludzhev's aspirations for the post of prime minister is not only likely to make the dogs bark, but, I am convinced, no political formation whatsoever will, even hypothetically, accept him in the post of prime minister.

[Gulubov] Is he such a bad choice?

[Dogan] A candidate for the post of prime minister in a caretaker cabinet is the result of a decision based on the consensus of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces. His appointment cannot be a subjective act of imposing anyone's will. If we should admit the hypothesis that Mr. Ludzhev is being appointed solely at the president's wish, we should also accept the hypothesis that his appointment might provoke a general strike, which would reflect on the president's and the parliament's image. Hence, I do not believe that Mr. Ludzhev could even be appointed as a caretaker prime minister.

[Gulubov] You have been criticized in connection with the DPS's failure to resolve the tobacco workers' problems.

[Dogan] The question is already settled, and the government is currently in the process of specifying the purchase scheme. Purchasing is expected to start in early November 1993.

[Gulubov] You had a dispute with Mr. Mehmed Hodzha on the question of the "Turkish minority" in Bulgaria?

[Dogan] I would like people to realize that the DPS has been discussing this question for the last four years. Whenever we distinguish between ethnic and national minorities, it does not mean that the question of the Turkish minority is precluded. I do not accept the thesis of a national minority, which is not likely to be accepted by anyone who is familiar with the human rights documents of the European parliament, the Council of Europe, and other international institutions. The idea of adopting a national minority status should be treated with great care, because Europe does not recognize the concept of national minorities. The stand on this issue dates back to the epoch of World War I, after the map of Europe had been reshaped. Those principles were even further consolidated after World War II. In reading Mehmed Hodzha's statements, I noticed that, instead of clearly stating and specifying our demands, he is simply playing with words.

[Gulubov] How do you explain such behavior?

[Dogan] It is his own behavior, which he is personally responsible for. The matter does not concern me. If he wishes to clarify his stand, he can do so through the mass media. Nevertheless, I recommend that he should thoroughly examine the issue before making any statements.

[Gulubov] What about the chances for Mr. Berov's cabinet?

[Dogan] Many people would like to see it fall. Perhaps even Mr. Berov sometimes would like it to happen. Nevertheless, this is nothing but wishful thinking. As long as a cabinet is fulfilling its program, and as long as it does it well, it should even seek possibilities to expand its scope of action. If prerequisites for a cabinet reshuffle or for personnel changes exist, the government should take advantage of such opportunities. Everyone should be aware by now that political territory is not anyone's personal property. This applies to the prime minister, to parliament, and to the president. Their replacement is a question of the people's common will.

[Gulubov] Do you have any forecasts?

[Dogan] If conditions for new elections should emerge in the spring of 1994, this would show that the DPS has done its work, even better than an average level. However, I think that none of the political formations is ready for elections. I think that the current public opinion polls are not quite accurate. They reflect the people's reactions in a peaceful atmosphere, while things are different in a more tense, pre-election situation.

[Gulubov] The DPS initiated the establishment of a Cooperation Council, what about its future?

[Dogan] The parties that have joined the council are candidates for a third bloc in the forthcoming election campaign, which is likely to fill the space between the two giants [BSP and SDS]. So much the better, if our society really needs such a third force.

[Gulubov] Are there not too many candidates for the third bloc, such as the NSD, the OSD, GOR, and the Cooperation Council?

[Dogan] The more options exist, the better it is. Different parties have the opportunity to compete and this will show whether the existence of a third, centrist bloc is justified or not. It is another question whether we should pursue the bipolar model at all costs, or whether we should establish a mutually balanced model based on the existence of the third bloc. The establishment of a third bloc means that none of the political parties is capable of forming its own cabinet. The existence of a strong centrist group is an absolute necessity in my view, no matter whether it is represented by a parliamentary group or by a dynamic majority of individual deputies.

[Gulubov] Is the DPS actually supporting the idea of a third bloc?

[Dogan] If there are any prerequisites to proving the necessity of such a bloc, we shall certainly support it. Nevertheless, it is a process currently under way, on which I have no clearly defined stand.

Commentary Calls For BSP-BSDP Dialogue

AU0911144093 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Nov 93 p 8

[Commentary by Stefan Prodev: "Dispute Will Not Help"]

[Text] It really is boring, but some interesting things are still happening. Recently one of them was Dr. Dertliev's irrepressible desire to conduct a public debate with Zhan Videnov. The doctor wants to explain to the public and to Zhan why the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] cannot exist together in the current political climate. This is an interesting desire, especially now, when society is torn apart by contradictions and the two leftist parties urgently need allies. An eventual dispute will undoubtedly be hot and attractive, but hardly useful. It is already clear that it would open old wounds from the time of Buzludzha [the location of last century's constituent congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party], without saying anything new. Viewers would hear many well-known truths and half-truths, which hardly would impress them. In our time it is acceptable to speculate in a most irresponsible manner about the past, and this prompts

me to think that the dispute will cause more damage than contribute anything positive.

I have already said and am ready to say again that it is a current historical demand to seek a new manner of thinking. All literate people know very well what separates the BSP and the BSDP, and what ill-considered acts and sins are disrupting their political dreams. This includes the period from Blagoev, Sakuzov, Dimitrov, and Pastukhov up to the present, in other words, the period from the first theoretical disputes and split, through 1923, to Belene [communist prison camp]. In their stormy 100-year history both parties have enough reasons to accuse each other, repent, and speculate on the issue of guilt. In this context one must point out the war between them after 1944, which painted the memory in bloody colors and how the BSDP paid with many valuable victims. Today the BSP pays tribute to those victims and is ready to beg for forgiveness. However, all this belongs to the past and every sensible person understands that even the worst memory should not prevent a political dialogue today. Now dialogues are conducted in a completely different manner and every attempt to replace dialogue with memory is more than wrong. There can be no doubt that the debate that Dr. Dertliev desires, willingly or unwillingly, would lead the participants toward questions and answers that would inevitably wake up the old animosity. Neither the Socialists nor the Social Democrats would benefit from this.

I am deeply convinced that in the present political situation both the BSP and BSDP would not achieve anything positive if they participated in a dispute. The leftist alternative that both parties seek despite their differences could only gain from a prudent dialogue between them. The attack of the right-wing reaction is so obvious that there should be no hesitation on this matter. Of course, this is not a call for inadmissible compromises, political and ideological obliteration, or a false attempt to form a false brotherhood, but it is an appeal for political prudence. There are no closer parties than the BSP and the BSDP and our society could only gain if they found a common road in the name of the great national interests. Let bygones be bygones. Now the past is much less topical than the future, and Bulgaria's future demands from us leftist forces that we reach a prudent understanding. In this sense, let this unwanted dispute develop into a wanted dialogue. Let Petur Dertliev and Zhan Videnov not embark on a confrontation and make the rightists happy, but find a common denominator. This is no small thing and must not be underestimated. In this world of division, hatred, and sinister political games, such a step would evoke real hope. It would imbue Bulgarian democracy with a new strength.

This is my personal opinion, which does not commit anyone. I do not want to prevent the planned debate, but I doubt its usefulness. It could inflame passions, but would hardly help the people. Instead of listening to a quarrel, they could be happy if they sensed that the BSP and the BSDP are coming closer to each other in order to halt the right-wing attack. It is not their party interests but rather the common national interest that prompts them toward such a course of action. If they do not understand this today, tomorrow will be too late. The blue [Union of Democratic Forces] reaction is not joking. It is uniting before our very eyes and would not hesitate to cut both roses. It hates all left-wing elements and is prepared to annihilate them in the name of its unfettered rule. Socialists and Social Democrats must both understand this. While we quarrel in front of the television cameras, the gentlemen from the right will erect our gallows. Some people would say that this is too strong, but let them prove me wrong.

The time has come for the BSP and the BSDP to let their old wounds heal and join hands against the common danger. I know that this sounds unrealistic and even provocative to many ears, but there is no alternative. If we do not find forces to understand this simple truth, left-wing Bulgaria will remain without a serious prospect. The next parliament will be precisely like the present one—a parliament with many Socialists and without a single Social Democrat. One does not have to prove the damage that this causes. Therefore let us not play with debates. Their benefit will only be artistic, while the damage will be fully political. It is easy to make the dogs bark, but very difficult to build up awareness and faith and unite the forces. Therefore, let us leave the television to those who have nothing to say to each other.

Embassies Blamed for Inviting 'Dissidents'

AU1211104193 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Nov 93 p 6

[Konstantin Subchev commentary: " 'Dissidents' Again?"]

[Text] We still remember those days of 1989, when on the occasion of his official visit to Bulgaria, President Mitterrand invited a group of Bulgarian dissident intellectuals to a breakfast at the French embassy. They represented nobody but themselves and their own disagreement with the regime of the epoch.

In the fourth year of democratic changes, when Bulgaria has a Constitution, a legally elected president, and parliament, certain people, for whom "dissidence" is a rather comfortable form of existence, have suddenly emerged.

Adem Kenan, leader of the Turkish Democratic Party, was received at the embassies of the United States and Turkey. There would not have been anything unusual about the invitation had the party not been declared illegal because it is in contradiction with the Bulgarian Constitution.

According to a popular saying, it is not the criminal who is guilty, but the one who permits him to commit his crimes. Considering the passive attitude of our government, which is taking no action whatsoever against the

activities of illegal political organizations, and considering the presence of a champion for the rights of ethnic parties, such as U.S. Ambassador Montgomery, Adem Kenan's "dissident" behavior could turn into a dangerous precedent likely to encourage the "Pomak [Bulgarian Muslims] leader" Karnen Burov, Georgi Solunski from the illegal Ilinden United Macedonian Organization, and all sorts of other people.

There have always been and there always will be people who are discontent with the society in which they live, and this applies to all countries. Civil disobedience is their natural state of mind. In the aforementioned case, however, I am talking about people whose "dissident" actions are likely to turn Bulgaria into a second Bosnia.

Berov, Russian Ambassador Discuss Komi Timber Enterprise

AU1011071093 Sofia BTA in English 2013 GMT 9 Nov 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 9 (BTA)—[passage omitted] Prime Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov and Russian Ambassador to Bulgaria Aleksandr Avdeyev discussed the problems of the Bulgarian timbering and construction enterprise in Komi at a working breakfast today, government's spokesman Raycho Raykov said. The government of Komi and the Bulgarian Forestry Committee are in contact, but there are differences in their approach to the profitability of the enterprise, he informed. According to Mr. Raykov, the problem will be resolved next week in Moscow by experts from Komi, Russia and Bulgaria. The Russian experts believe it would be possible to turn the loss-making enterprise into a profitable one, the government's spokesman said.

Prime Minister Berov had a meeting with Mr. Rados Smilic, charge d'affaires of the embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Bulgaria. Analyzing bilateral relations in their historical aspect, the sides came to the shared conclusion that the relations between the two Slav peoples should have future as well, the Government's Press Office informed. Prime Minister Berov expressed his view that Serbia and Montenegro should work for the settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia using all possible peaceful means and ways. This would be a prerequisite for relaxing and lifting the embargo which has considerably aggravated Bulgaria's economic situation as a country strictly observing the UN resolutions on sanctions enforcement, the government's press release says. [passage omitted]

Mr. Valentin Gatsinski, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, had consultations with Mr. Vitaliy Churkin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, in Moscow. The sides discussed current problems of international relations in general and the crisis on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia in particular, the new ideas about resolving it, the American "Partnership for Peace" initiative and the French proposal for a Peace and Stability in Europe Pact, BTA learned from a press release of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. [passage omitted]

Berov, UNDP Official Discuss Embargo Losses

AU1011143593 Sofia BTA in English 1242 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—"The possibility of getting any tangible, even if indirect compensation for Bulgaria's Yugo-embargo losses is remote," Prime Minister Lyuben Berov told BTA after meeting this morning with Mr. James Grossman, leader of a UNDP [UN Development Program] mission which is in Bulgaria to approve an estimate of the embargo losses. Mr. Grossman chairs the U.S. Administration's Commission on Foreign Claims.

The chief secretary of the government's UN Sanctions Commission Marin Todorov said that the commission s chairman, Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev, attended the meeting. It was pointed out that by September 30, 1993 Bulgaria's direct and indirect losses arising from the embargo against ex-Yugoslavia totalled some U.S.$3 billion. Measures were outlined to specify this estimate, especially in its part on direct losses. To this end, Mr. Todorov said, assistance will be sought from experts of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank so that an official report on Bulgaria's losses could be submitted to the UNDP in December 1993. Prime Minister Berov urgently raised the matter of linking the amount of losses sustained by Bulgaria with tangible compensations for the national economy, reporters were told.

KNSB Leader Demands Cabinet's Resignation

AU1011210893 Sofia BTA in English 1640 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—Speaking to the press today, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said the cabinet would survive the no-confidence vote proposed by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) yesterday on account of the cabinet's "antisocial policy" [passage omitted]. Speaking at a news conference in Plovdiv later today, KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] President Krustyo Petkov said, "Mr. Berov's cabinet is at the end of its resources and is unable to carry out the structural reform. It has to go now and the political forces in parliament should decide what to do next," Mr. Petkov said. He drew this conclusion from the implementation of the 1993 budget. Mr. Petkov expects that either parliament will pass a vote of no confidence in the cabinet as it failed to implement the Budget Act, or the cabinet will fail to draw up the 1994 budget. According to KNSB, the last few weeks have shown that the government is controlled by certain financial and economic groups. The KNSB leader expects customs officers to go on strike on Friday, and a national coal strike later on.

According to the Social Democracy Alliance, affiliated to the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the party may find itself in a rather awkward position whether it votes for or against the cabinet's social policy. A discussion of the pros and cons of the cabinet is largely influenced by the current economic situation, according to Rosen Karadimov of the alliance. He believes the BSP should propose to all political formations consensus on the country's economic problems.

Aleksandur Tomov MP of the BSP, leader of the Civil Alliance For the Republic, said today the overthrow of Mr. Berov's cabinet could lead to a political crisis and runaway inflation early next year. According to the Civil Alliance, the parliamentary forces could resolve the current political and economic situation by reaching an agreement on key economic problems.

Berov Blames EC 'Contradictions' for Delay

AU1111061593 Sofia BTA in English 1949 GMT 10 Nov 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—Addressing the press today, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov put the non-ratification by the EC Council of Ministers of the interim trade agreement with Bulgaria down to internal contradictions within the community.

At a meeting today, the Supreme Judicial Council appointed Judge Dimitur Gochev, member of the European Human Rights Court in Strasbourg as deputy chairman of the Supreme Court.

The Ministry of Transport gives priority to working out entering before the cabinet amendments to the Civil Aviation Act, disciplinary rules for Bulgarian State Railways managing personnel and Council of Ministers decrees on the rights and powers of high-ranking officials, including the transport minister, Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov told a briefing today. The ministry will also move draft amendments to Council of Ministers decrees on the taxation of incomes of the crews of Bulgarian sea ships and on the opening of border check points on the Bulgarian-Romanian border.

The new Transport Ministry team has been formed according to recommendations by the German Company GTZ which worked with the ministry for eight months, Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov told a briefing today.

The National Assembly today ratified the Treaty on Friendship Between Bulgaria and Kazakhstan, signed on July 30, 1993 in Alma Ata.

Members of the National Assembly Committee on Agriculture expressed concern over the delay in purchasing the tobacco harvest. Along with members of the Union of Tobacco Growers and labour officials, they demand a meeting with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov to discuss the issue. According to the committee, a one way out is to introduce excise taxes and higher import charges on tobacco products.

The National Assembly Legislative Committee today debated amendments to the Sojourn of Aliens in Bulgaria Act. According to legislative Committee Chairman Aleksandur Dzherov, the amendments are needed to address problems ensuing from the rising number of aliens in Bulgaria.

Bulgarian representative Vladimir Sotirov addressed the Committee on Social-Humanitarian Matters and Human Rights of the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly, announced the Foreign Ministry. Mr. Sotirov stressed that the problems of refugees go beyond national boundaries, requiring effective international cooperation under UN auspices. The Bulgarian official expressed concern over transit migrants staying in Bulgaria illegally, failing to gain access to European countries which late last year took stringent measures to restrict immigration. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria today received aid granted by the Austrian Government and Red Cross in response to an appeal by the Bulgarian Red Cross to national red cross societies. The delivery (transport and organization costs included) cost the Austrian Red Cross 716,667 Swiss Francs (about 14 million leva).

The Independent Trade Union of Customs Officers today said the customs will call a one-hour token strike on November 12 in support of their demand to establish a Branch Council for Social Partnership in the customs. 26 customs houses nationwide have said so far that they will take part in the strike.

The Trade Union of Sailors of the Bulgarian River Lines today declared a strike at eight o'clock A.M. [0600 GMT] on November 17 to press demands for rescinding the tax on foreign business trip allowances. All transport services for Bulgarian customers along the River Danube will be suspended.

The ferry line between Varna and Ilichevsk can form the basis of an international joint-stock company, Pavel Kudyakin, boss of the black Sea Lines in Odessa and chairman of the ferry line's Board of Directors, suggested at a three-day meeting of the board which ended in Varna today, said BTA's local correspondent reported. In the final protocol, the line's four operators, the Ukrainian and Bulgarian Black Sea Lines and state-run railway carriers, agreed on the joint operation of the service next year.

The Bulgarian Doctors Union said today they will sever contacts with the Ministry of Health displeased with the outcome of talks with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. The release says Prof. Berov told the union on November 5 that the health reform would not be implemented by mid-1994 and that health was no priority sector and would not receive enough funding, warning of cuts of hospital personnel and beds.

Poll on Views of BSP, SDS, DPS Supporters

AU1111164393 Sofia BTA in English 1129 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—It is difficult to predict which of the two major political forces, the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) or the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party (BSP), will win probable elections, if such are called in the coming few months, Evgeni Daynov, a sociologist, says in STANDART NEWS. Mr. Daynov cites a representative poll of 1,400 respondents nationwide on "political stability and public modernization" taken by Marketingconsult and coordinated by Tsvetozar Tomov, a sociologist and member of the Civic Alliance for the republic, and Ivan Krustev, a political analyst and advisor to President Zhelev.

28 percent of respondents support the BSP. Taking into account the "hiding" of red [BSP] votes, the pollsters suspect the proportion of red votes may be one or two points larger. The poll shows for the first time that for the man in street the BSP is a legitimate party, an equal alternative to the SDS. 72 percent of respondents say the BSP and the SDS share the blame for the nation's dire straits and 51 percent would like to see a third political force countering the two dominant poles. Only 10 percent, the core of the SDS electorate, describe the BSP as "a mafia."

The analysts think the BSP became a legitimate party for the average voter this spring, under the government of independent Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. This finding disproves two popular views, that the SDS government (1992) drove people away from the SDS and closer to the BSP, and that Prof. Berov is implementing a policy of recommunization, winning supporters for the SDS.

The survey reveals some typical features of the electorates of the major political forces. BSP supporters are more inclined to think that not everything was bad under the former regime, that restitution is bad, that only small units should go private, that the nation was better-off under the government of Socialist Andrey Lukanov (1990), that government should be a mechanism of protection and distribution of assets and that socialism has a future. The nucleus of the firmest BSP electorate (or one in ten Bulgarians) thinks that "communism is the future of humanity."

24 percent of respondents back the SDS. These are people holding more rightist views, promoting the values of capitalism and free enterprise. A large number of SDS sympathizers, however, also think their well-being depends more on government mechanisms than on individual enterprise.

What BSP and SDS supporters share is a call for a stronger government able to effectively combat crime (91 percent of BSP and 79 percent of SDS backers) and nationalist leanings (some 45 percent of both SDS and BSP supporters say the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) should be banned, compared to a national average of 40 percent). Nationalism, however, has no separate life, i.e. it is not more important than partisan divisions, say the pollsters.

DPS sympathizers attach more importance to communal feelings than to political allegiances. Over one-fourth of DPS voters are disappointed with the party, but the movement will poll its 7 percent in probable elections, say analysts.

Pollsters note the emergence of a separate political culture of disappointment with politics. 30 percent of interviewees have not decided whom they would vote for. Only 5 percent of this group are expected to cast a vote for one of the two major forces while one- fourth would abstain from voting.

In the foreseeable future, the politically minded population will continue to be divided by allegiance to either the BSP or the SDS. Every public issue will continue to be coloured, sociologist Evgeni Daynov writes in conclusion.

Skoda Chief Discusses Nuclear Safety Cooperation

AU1111164193 Sofia BTA in English 1233 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—Partnership in enhancing the safety of nuclear plants in the Bulgarian and Czech Republics was high on the agenda of today's meeting between Lubomir Soudek, director general of the Skoda Corporation, and Yanko Yanev, chairman of Bulgaria's Committee for Peaceful Atomic Energy Uses. Skoda is looking for partners and markets in this field.

Competition is fierce and the old ties are broken, but there are prospects for cooperation and we need it, said Mr. Soudek.

"Bulgaria's nuclear plant in Kozloduy is implementing a remodelling programme. Decisions are to be made on nuclear waste storage. If Skoda tables advantageous nuclear safety projects, we can start dialogue on cooperation," said Mr. Yanev.

Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias Arrives

AU1111163693 Sofia BTA in English 1109 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias arrived on an official visit in Sofia today at noon. He arrived with a delay of an hour and a half and made no statement for the press. A little later Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov and his Greek counterpart opened talks at the Foreign Ministry.

This afternoon Mr. Papoulias will meet with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Talks With Daskalov, Yordanov

AU1211071093 Sofia BTA in English 1548 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Report by Iva Toncheva]

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—At today's meeting of Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov and Greece's Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, which lasted about an hour and a half, the sides considered Bulgarian-Greek relations, the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the possibilities of finding a solution to the conflict there, and issues of European integration. [passage omitted]

Interviewed by a Bulgarian journalist, Minister Daskalov said that Greece's proposal for a Balkan conference had not been discussed. "What matters is the two countries' desire to continue conducting good cooperation in all fields of their relations," Mr. Daskalov said. "We have always attached primary importance to our relations with Bulgaria," the head of Greek diplomacy, Mr. Papoulias, said. He expressed his satisfaction with the fact that Athens' desire for further advancement of bilateral relations was well met. I see very good prospects for the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations, he added in reply to a question.

Karolos Papoulias shared his impressions from his Balkan tour with Stanislav Daskalov. "We want to discuss the problems in the region," the Greek foreign minister said. Replying a question about Macedonia, Mr. Daskalov said that the two sides had presented their positions. "It this is not a problem that can hinder our relations because the dispute between Macedonia and Greece is a bilateral issue concerning one of those countries' names," the Bulgarian foreign minister said.

Meetings on a number of aspects of bilateral relations were scheduled today. A joint commission will meet early in December to consider the condition and future of Bulgarian-Greek trade and economic relations. An expert meeting will be held to make a review of the whole legal framework which, according to Minister Daskalov, is partly outdated and does not satisfy the requirements of the European Community Bulgaria seeks integration with. The talks on the transfer of convicted offenders agreement, transport and infrastructure problems, the Mesta River issue and border checkpoint problems, which were also considered at the two ministers' meeting, will go on.

Foreign Minister Papoulias was received by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov. There are no points at issue between Bulgaria and Greece, Mr. Yordanov said after the talks. "Sharing similar views in general, we agreed in particular that Greece is the country which should most actively help Bulgaria to get associated with the EC," Aleksandur Yordanov said. The National Assembly chairman raised the question of the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia, laying stress on the need to find a formula of compensating Bulgaria's losses from the enforcement of sanctions. The Greek foreign minister backed up the idea, pointing out that Bulgaria, Greece and Romania should work jointly on the matter. Mr. Yordanov suggested to Mr. Papoulias to assist in the setting up of an expert group which would coordinate all projects of mutual interest under the EC programmes—Operation PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary Program], Interreg, and Ecos.

Meets With Zhelev, Berov

AU1211071193 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Iva Toncheva report]

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—At today's meeting of Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov and Greece' Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, which lasted about an hour and a half, the sides considered Bulgarian-Greek relations, the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the possibilities of finding a solution to the conflict there, and issues of European integration. [passage omitted]

Matters concerning multilateral and bilateral relations were on the agenda of a session of talks, held later in the day between President Zhelyu Zhelev and Mr. Papoulias. The president's foreign policy adviser Kamen Velichkov said that the chief Greek diplomat had pledged support for Bulgaria's aspirations to join the European Union and for this country's insistence in connection with cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance. The sides had also found an identity of Bulgarian and Greek interests on the matter of compensations for the Yugoembargo losses.

The same problem was also discussed at a meeting of Prime Minister Lyuben Berov with Karolos Papoulias. Government spokesman Raycho Raykov said that the Greek foreign minister had suggested that Bulgaria, Romania and Greece come up with a common stand on compensation for the Yugoembargo losses. "The proposal seems reasonable and realistic," Mr. Raykov said. Prof. Berov and Mr. Papoulias arrived at the shared conclusion that Bulgarian-Greek friendship is an essential factor of stability in the Balkans. Briefing the Bulgarian head of government on his Balkan tour, Mr. Papoulias said there was hope of a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict, to judge from his talks with Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic. Mr. Papoulias is scheduled to meet Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, too. Prime Minister Berov and Mr. Papoulias considered questions concerning bilateral relations. They commended the projects for expanding the Greek port of Alexandroupolis and for digging a tunnel under the Balkan range. As to the waters of the River Mesta, the Bulgarian government spokesman said that a final agreement is to be reached in the near future and that it will reckon with the interests of both countries. [passage omitted]

The chief Greek diplomat today talked with members of the four parliamentary factions. Later on, he met with Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria.

Daskalov-Papoulias News Conference

AU1211071293 Sofia BTA in English 2051 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov and his Greek Counterpart Karolos Papoulias, who is paying an official visit here, stressed the fine relationship between Bulgaria and Greece and pointed to the bright prospects for its furtherance. They were speaking at a joint news conference here today.

"The atmosphere of the talks was cordial," Mr. Papoulias said. The two chief diplomats observed that fine Bulgarian-Greek contacts are important for stability in the Balkans.

Answering a reporter's question, the Greek foreign minister emphasized that there are no outstanding issues between Bulgaria and Greece. Asked whether the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was an obstacle to Bulgarian-Greek relations, both ministers answered in the negative. "Bulgaria and Greece maintain traditionally good relations," Mr. Daskalov said. The same was repeated by Mr. Papoulias.

"Both sides agree that every possible effort should be made to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Yugoconflict and an immediate cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina," the chief Greek diplomat said. He added that both Bulgaria and Greece are in favour of peace procedures. Asked why Ankara did not figure on the route of his Balkan tour, Mr. Papoulias said that he would soon confer with his Turkish colleague at the meeting of NATO foreign ministers. Because of communication difficulties Mr. Papoulias did not visit Sarajevo but will do so next Saturday, he said.

The Greek foreign minister said that a partition of Macedonia cannot contribute to peace in the Balkans. "Greece cannot agree to any revision of Balkan borders," he noted. Earlier today, Bulgarian prime minister Lyuben Berov told Bulgarian and Greek reporters that Bulgaria supports the integrity of Macedonia and would react negatively to any attempts at establishing greater Albania. "If we follow the logic of which state was at its zenith, we would end up with insoluble problems. We must be realistic and not try to re- establish any greater Balkan state," Prof. Berov said.

Berov Blames Assembly for Delaying Legislation

AU1211122293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Report by Zlatina Georgieva from the National Assembly building in Sofia on the 12 November morning's parliamentary session—live]

[Excerpt] Unexpectedly for the National Assembly deputies, at the start of this morning's session Prime Minister Lyuben Berov made a declaration in connection with the motion of no confidence in him that had been proposed. He pointed out what his cabinet had achieved, but did not deny that problems existed. He admitted the decline in tempo, but questioned whether it was possible to choose a different way. He declared that an evident discrepancy exists between the rate at which the National Assembly was dealing with legislation and the real need for laws to assist the reform. He then proceeded to list the laws that in his view should be adopted without delay.

It became clear that the bill on the 1994 budget will be submitted to parliament next week. Unless parliament speeds up its legislative work, the country will be placed in a vacuum, Berov predicted, adding that from now on difficult things lie ahead. I have already drained half the cup, the prime minister said, adding that if he as to drink the second half, he would demand the conditions to make this possible. Otherwise, let someone else take over this job, Berov suggested.

Stefan Savov [chairman of parliamentary group of Union of Democratic Forces] objected that the prime minister's statement had been submitted on the day assigned to parliamentary questioning of ministers, without any debate being allowed. [passage omitted]

Official Views U.S. Stand on NATO Expansion

AU1111210293 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Nov 93 p 6

[Article by Jiri Payne, Civic Democratic Party, chairman of the Czech Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee: "The United States and NATO Are Keeping Their Hands Away From Us; the Defense Ministers of NATO States Have Refused To Admit Central Europe"]

[Text] The conclusions of the two-day informal consultative meeting of the defense ministers of NATO member states at Travemuende (held in the absence of France, which left the NATO military structure in 1966, but which is now supposedly considering forging closer defense links with NATO) may have come as a surprise, especially to countries that did not pay heed to earlier signals.

Prior to the meeting, many European countries were more or less inclined to support the proposal that was ultimately submitted by the Netherlands, with Norwegian and Belgian support, that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe be admitted within a specific time frame. The situation was completely reversed by the Americans when they put forward for the January summit of the North Atlantic Council an initiative called "Partnership for Peace," which did not meet with effective opposition from West European countries with their heretofore inadequately developed common foreign policy.

At the heart of this initiative ought to be the expansion of cooperation on the basis of bilateral treaties on military cooperation, in which both "post-Warsaw Pact" countries and Western neutral countries could participate with no distinction being made between them. Not only has the time frame of NATO's expansion not been even roughly outlined, but it has been moved into the distant future. The [U.S.] proposal at the same time rejected the request for the provision of security guarantees for Central and Eastern Europe on the basis of Article 4 of the Washington Treaty. It did, however, hold out the prospect of some kind of an analogous option on an individual contractual basis.

According to the U.S. proposal, NATO intends to expand its potential with the armies of those countries that will join the initiative and will transform their armies. It wants to make use of the augmented potential in joint peace operations and in rescue operations in the wake of large-scale natural catastrophes. Specifically, as was stated by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, "each partner will prepare an implementation or working plan, in which he will specify the extent of participation. The plan will include also military exercises and planning and the commitment to transparency in military planning, the expansion of the civilian element in the management of the ministry of defense, and compatibility with NATO units."

Relatively unheeded went the concurrent discussion on European security and defense identity (ESDI), which apparently should have been the primary concern [of the Travemuende meeting]. The proposal to form a working group that would deal with the threat of the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons posed by individual states or terrorist organizations, too, remained largely unnoticed.

What prompted the United States to come up with this proposal, when we remember that, as recently as in June, speaking at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin endorsed the Central European reforming countries' closer integration into NATO structures and the necessity of giving them the prospect of future membership? "First it is necessary to work out the conditions and the timetable," he said in June. At the same time, however, even then Les Aspin considered it important to develop also bilateral relations between the Western community and individual states and regional groups of states.

We must start with the cornerstone of Clinton's foreign policy as formulated by Secretary of State Warren Christopher: "Today's Russia is our strategic partner, not our adversary." It is quite possible that, in this case, the wish is father to the thought because, at the same time, we will find in U.S. policy considerable fear of terrorist states or organizations and, generally, of nuclear weapons or their authors ending up in problematic hands.

"The thousands of Soviet warheads were the old nuclear threat," we can read in recent U.S. documents. "A whole defense apparatus had been established to address this threat. Today, however, the path has been opened toward an entirely new threat, the possibility of a terrorist state or a terrorist organization getting hold of nuclear weapons.... The question arises, to what extent the old technology and the provisions made for the old threat can be used to face up to the new threat. This will require a new nuclear response and the nature of this response will be very different from the one we had before." One can understand that, in the light of nuclear problems, Central Europe, viewed superficially, may seem unimportant.

From here there is only one step to the conclusions arrived at by William Maynes in the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, namely that the Central European countries are not ready for NATO membership, that the results of the Polish elections clearly demonstrated the possibility of communists being elected to power again also in other countries, and that the debate on membership should, at the very least, be postponed.

Maynes' arguments were undoubtedly aided by President Yeltsin's letter. Maynes apparently follows up on the contents of that letter when he argues that Ukraine and the Baltic states would feel wronged if only the Central European states were to be admitted into NATO. Moreover, at present Russia supposedly has "the most pro-Western leadership it has ever had, so that at

this moment it is not possible to turn one's back on it.... The exclusion of Russia from the expanded NATO would mean the lowering of another curtain in the center of Europe. And, should the expanded NATO jeopardize Russia's strategic interests, its reaction will be extremely hostile. On the other hand, Russia's good integration into the security system will lead to developing cooperation. Russia supposedly does not pose a military threat to Eastern Europe and the Central European countries need integration into Western economic institutions more than they need NATO, so that the quest for NATO membership turns them away from the main target—economic integration," Maynes writes.

Apparently, the presentation of the U.S. proposal [at Travemunde] was the product of such reasoning.

The proposal put forward at Travemuende drew highly contradictory commentaries. Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, for example, writing in THE WASHINGTON TIMES, stated: "The United States cannot, and must not, give Poland and the other East European countries the guarantee that it would go to war because of their eastern borders, as would follow from their admission into NATO." THE GUARDIAN, on the other hand, in an article headlined "Back in Boris's Embrace," speaks about "delaying the prospects for NATO's expansion" and about "closing the doors to the East." "NATO is on the best way to become redundant," writes the German FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, and continues: "Ever since the Western defense club started losing an enemy, the cohesion of the alliance has been disintegrating.... The former enemies today offer themselves as allies. But instead of seizing this sensational chance for a completely new beginning, NATO is comforting the new democracies by promising bilateral cooperation treaties. This will bring the Alliance a great deal and will cost it nothing. In defiance of the woeful state of their economies, the candidates for NATO membership are forced to put more and more money into their national armies."

Russia's attitude toward NATO's expansion was expressed fairly accurately by Defense Minister Grachev: "Russia cannot allow Poland to be admitted into NATO." Of course, Grachev generously added that Russia had no objections to the membership of Finland.

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev even turned around the whole matter, which has its origin in the Russian president's famous, yet unknown, letter: "I agree with the view that members of the Alliance should prevent a new division of Europe, the revival of nationalism, fragmentation, and a return to the destructive logic of blocs and counter-blocs." One can deduce from many indications that it is precisely the idea of division (or, rather, non-division) of Europe that is contained in President Yeltsin's letter, from which it also got into British Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind's statement.

Elsewhere, Andrey Kozyrev even said that there existed "inevitable differences between Russia and the West." And third, he said—even though he was referring to somewhat different countries—that West European countries could not offer specific help, while Russia could. During his visit to Great Britain he suggested that the NATO membership of countries such as the Czech Republic would hardly convince his fellow citizens that the Alliance was a strategic partner for the Russian Federation and that NATO was not trying to isolate Russia from the rest of Europe.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA went even further when it wrote, in its 28 October issue, that NATO's policy toward Eastern Europe might result in warmer relations between Russia and the Central European countries, in the revival of traditional relations between the former members of the Warsaw Pact. We can read, furthermore, that NATO has effectively slammed the door to NATO in the Central European countries' face, explaining this by the Russian threat factor, that is, the very factor that these countries cited as the reason for their application for membership. This sentence very accurately expresses the present Russian strategy, the aim of which is to renew the Eastern Bloc under the, for the former socialist countries, according to the article, fairly attractive slogan: "Through Joint Efforts Into NATO."

Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Security Affairs and Defense Committee, stated that the expansion of NATO with Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Ukraine, which Senator Lugar recently defended in Washington, was nothing but the creation of a sanitary cordon around Russia.

To sum it all up: The United States would like to have in Russia a strategic partner but, at the same time, it is just as apprehensive about Russia as the European states. Russian diplomacy successfully takes advantage of this. As has become traditional, wherever scope is freed for its political influence, Russia does not hesitate to occupy this vacated space.

The [Travemuende] meeting publicly declared the possibility of putting bilateral cooperation, which, to a certain extent, already exists, on a contractual basis. In other words, it only gave a name to an existing state of affairs (there are now almost 20 bilateral East-West treaties on military cooperation) and, at the same time, it invited some kind of a competition for the most successful candidates (Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup: "The trick is that all countries will become involved, but at various speeds. Cooperation will be extended to countries that will strive the hardest for it."). Apparently, the competition will serve as a motivation, in particular, for the more successful candidates, while Ukraine and Russia may be somewhat discouraged by it, in defiance of the good intentions. The conclusions of the meeting simultaneously closed the perspective that the Central European diplomacy managed to build in four years, even though, initially, it seemed to be an

absurd idea [sentence as published]. And, apparently, they put an end to the brief period of open diplomacy in Europe. Henceforth, all activities will be kept painstakingly secret, possibly even among the candidates for membership.

The Alliance has evidently accommodated Moscow's recent reservations about enlarging NATO with some former communist states. The [U.S.] proposal provides for quite a passable technological solution to the problem, but it does not respect the traditional policy of Russian interests. Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stated what the U.S. initiative may be lacking: the emphatic and unequivocal expression of NATO's interest in the inviolability of the borders in Central and Eastern Europe. What has been lacking in the European response to the U.S. initiative, on the other hand, is the support for U.S. military presence in Europe and the warning that attempts by totalitarian forces in Russia at interference in the democratization process in Europe, be it only by means of letters, would mean the immediate end to trade, aid, and credits and [Russia's] permanent isolation from the West.

What are our prospects, now that the space freed with the ending of the Cold War has been somewhat vacated for the assertion of Russian interests? Our priority today must be to retain the leading position in the post-communist states' imaginary transformation contest. Insofar as there is something threatening us, it is, in particular, we, ourselves, if we prove unable to be clear about the fundamental common interests.

Klaus Responds to Yeltsin's Concerns on NATO

LD0911214993 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1715 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Musilek on Russian President Yeltsin's letter to NATO countries warning against increase in NATO membership; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] [passage omitted] Could you possibly add your opinion to the discussion on this danger?

[Klaus] [passage omitted] My understanding of President Yeltsin's letter is that it is not so much a categoric demand that countries like the Czech Republic are not admitted into essential security structures. I understand this letter rather as an expression of apprehension, to the effect that if all post-communist countries except for Russia are admitted into NATO, Russia could become isolated, could be left alone, and some kind of a bipolar world could be created again. This is something that Russia does not desire. Therefore, Russia recommends that the whole mechanism be developed on a different basis.

Look, this is one of the interpretations of that letter. It is my personal interpretation. However, my feeling is that I am not wrong on this.

Klaus Specifies Reservations About French Plans

AU1011154293 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 6 Nov 93 pp 1, 3

[Viktor Krejci report: "Free Trade—The Sine Qua Non of Our Existence"]

[Text] "The Czech Republic is viewed in France as a country that is breaking free from the pack of the other post-communist countries, as a country that is stable, functioning, and staying on course," Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said upon his return from France yesterday. Bilateral relations between the two countries are in order, according to his words, and there is nothing to be improved in them.

Regarding Prime Minister Balladur's proposal to set up a European Conference on Security, Prime Minister Klaus said that the Czech side succeeded in formulating a standpoint that contains some clear questions and comments stemming from the 40 years of experience with the communist regime and from the understanding of the specific and unique features of this part of the world in the present stage of development. These comments were listened to very attentively and an agreement was reached with Prime Minister Balladur that, in the interest of even better clarification, he would delegate a team of his top-level advisers who should conduct talks with an analogous Czech group.

Asked by DENNI TELEGRAF whether he could specify the specific nature of our questions and comments, Prime Minister Klaus replied that they concerned, for example, distrust of the establishment of ever new organizations and institutions. In this regard Prime Minister Balladur said that he definitely did not wish this conference to become a new permanent institution with its own buildings and bureaucrats that would start to live its own independent life. Rather, it should be some kind of a charter of good conduct within Europe and the European states' pledge to behave according to this charter.

Another topic was the debate about whether the opening of some questions, particularly the issue of national and ethnic minorities, would increase or, rather, decrease stability in Europe or whether it may not even mean the releasing of a genie from the bottle that might destabilize the situation. In this regard the Czech side is worried lest the raising of these issues become a call for a new dialogue on borders in Europe. According to Vaclav Klaus, the French prime minister responded to these concerns by saying that the aim of his efforts is the inviolability of borders.

Responding to another question from our newspaper, about what kind of objections resounded from the Czech side to the idea of a European confederation, which is advocated by President Mitterrand, the prime minister said that institutions of this type cannot be built from above. These matters must evolve from within, according to him. Our state has experience with the Visegrad Four where the issue is, precisely, whether this

group has grown from the intrinsic interests of the participating states or whether it is only an idea imposed from above, which then has difficulties finding content and realization.

As transpired from the prime minister's words, however, no one doubts that some common European elements should be found. "But, on the other hand, I do not think that it would be good to replace the Visegrad Four with some Group of 42 comprising 42 European states. The contents of such an institution would not be given automatically and it would have to look for them with difficulty," the prime minister said.

The prime minister went on to say that, during his visit to France, he repeatedly emphasized our eminent interest in the conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round because free trade is the sine qua non of our existence.

The prime minister also commented on his meeting with [Czech writer living in Paris] Milan Kundera. The two men share the view that the word "nation" is being treated in a too simplistic way and cheaply rejected in present-day Europe, where it is en vogue to claim that it is a word from the last century that has become antiquated. "I often say: Let us not confuse the words 'nation' and 'nationalism,' which is often done nowadays. We, who have spent four decades in the world of proletarian internationalism, must not allow one of the elements of the search for our identity, which also comprises our national identity, to be given up immediately and cheaply," Vaclav Klaus said in concluding.

Daily Criticizes Government Work With Intelligence

AU1111213093 Prague CTK in English 0916 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 10 (CTK)—The government has not chosen the best way to improve the work of the Czech intelligence services, declares today's edition of the independent MLADA FRONTA DNES.

The government cannot improve the quality of the work done by the secret services by increasing or decreasing the number of them, nor by curtailing their budget. Intelligence service employees get the impression from the little interest government shows in them that they cannot be punished for mistakes they make. But just in the last year the intelligence services have made some considerable blunders which have discredited them mainly in the eyes of the public, it comments.

One of the worst blunders, according to the paper, is the failure of BIS [Security and Information Service] intelligence service employees to secure the bug they discovered in the premises of the Ministry of Justice. The device later could not be found.

First of all the government has to clarify the question surrounding the appointment of the director of the BIS. Stanislav Devaty, the present but temporary director, cannot be expected to carry out fundamental personnel changes, the daily notes.

Parliament Passes Law on Nuclear Supervisory Body

AU1111163393 Prague CTK in English 1204 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 11 (CTK)— Parliament passed a law today on the activity of the State Office for Nuclear Safety (SUJB) which will monitor the safety of atomic plants, nuclear material, and the treatment of nuclear waste.

The bill was backed by Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy. He told deputies that the State Office for Nuclear Safety had arisen after the split of Czechoslovakia as a successor body to the Czechoslovak Commission for Atomic Energy (CKAE). Thus far the state office had had a role analogous to that of the commission. The commission, Dlouhy reminded deputies, had drawn up a proposal for Czechoslovakia's nuclear program and its safety.

This, however, does not correspond to current requirements. The State Office for Nuclear Safety was created exclusively as a supervisory body over atomic safety, Dlouhy said. All activities in support of science and research had already been in practice transferred to the Ministry of Trade and Industry, he said.

It was only by rigorously separating the supervisory functions from other governmental or civil service activities in the same sphere that the office could be guaranteed sufficient independence, Dlouhy explained.

Parliamentary committee member Pavel Kolar (Christian Democratic Party) told parliament that the committee had recommended that the bill be passed after some minor legislative corrections were made.

Prosecutor General Suspected of Ordering Bugging

AU1111212593 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 11 (CTK)— Czech Deputy Prosecutor General Pavel Bret today categorically dismissed the suspicion of the Prague Office of Investigations that he had ordered the unlawful bugging of Justice Minister Jiri Novak.

In an interview with CTK, Bret said that along with him former Prosecutor General Jiri Setina and his adviser Milan Hulik were suspected.

Bret is now in charge of management of the Prosecutor General's Office. Setina resigned as of September 17, and no replacement has been appointed.

The three men are suspected of having ordered planting the bugging device in order to learn the thus far unpublished plans of the justice minister on the staffing of the State Attorney's Office which will replace the Prosecutor General's Office as of January 1, 1994, Bret said.

He said that the situation in which was unable to defend himself because no charge has been brought against him was legally as well as personally unacceptable to him.

To think that a charge against me will never be brought makes me fear that the suspicion will discredit me throughout my life, Bret said.

A group from the Office of Investigations, led by its director Richard Malecek, have ruled out that the bugging device, uncovered in the Justice Ministry building on September 7, had been installed by the Interior Ministry, the Police, or the Security Information Service (BIS). They have not refuted the version according to which the planting of the device was ordered by the three men from the Prosecutor General's Office.

The group took into consideration the fact that from July 1990 to September 1991 Bret was a member of the Federal Security Information Service (FBIS), BIS's predecessor.

They suspect me of maintaining contacts with people who have left the service, Bret [sentence incomplete as received]

Finance Minister: IMF Views Economy as 'Successful'

LD1111222793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] The IMF mission assesses the development of the Czech economy as very successful. This is what Ivan Kocarnik, deputy prime minister and finance minister, said after the meeting of economic ministers. Kocarnik met the mission's leaders and discussed issues related to economic development and government's currency policy this year. The Czech National Bank Governor Josef Tosovsky was present at the meeting, too. Those who participated in the meeting discussed cooperation between the Czech Republic and the IMF next year.

Havel Cited on Close Cooperation With Slovenia

LD1111234193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2200 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Excerpt] President Vaclav Havel returned from his official two-day visit to Slovenia this evening. It was his first visit to Slovenia as a president. This is what he told journalists at a news conference in Ljubljana:

[Begin Havel recording] Most of my talks were with President Kucan. I dare say he is my friend. I also met other prominent politicians, such as the prime minister and the parliament speaker. I even visited a plenary session of the parliament. I met representatives of the intelligentsia. In short, my agenda was full.

I personally have a feeling that this visit could have been—and it has been—an additional step in the process of bringing our two countries closer together. It has been another contribution to the building of a truly close cooperation and good friendship between us. Our contacts and our visits have been very frequent. It is a continuation of the traditional close and good relations between our peoples.

In the present day situation, in the present day Europe that is looking for its new order and its new peaceful set up, our two countries—as two independent countries—also seek their own place in this order.

From our talks, it ensued that our views of all basic issues concerning the building of a new Europe are very similar and close, if not identical. I think that this fact alone shows how good it will be if we, as two countries situated in the Central European region, coordinate our actions and policies. [passage omitted] [end recording]

President Kovac Appoints New Government Members

LD1011165893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] President Michal Kovac today appointed new members of the government.

Marian Andel, Sergej Kozlik and Jozef Prokes have been appointed deputy prime ministers and members of the government. The deputy prime minister who continues to be head of the Finance Ministry is Julius Toth. Jan Ducky has been appointed member of the government in charge of the Ministry of the Economy and Jaroslav Paska has been appointed member of the government in charge of the Ministry of Education and Science. The newly-appointed government members have sworn the oath before the head of state.

On this occasion, President Kovac said that he welcomed with satisfaction the conclusion of the coalition agreement between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. In his view, the positive result of these political talks is evidence of the ability of the top politicians to achieve understanding in open talks about the direction of Slovakia.

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that the new government members will bring to the cabinet, but also to the Slovak Parliament, an element of stability.

Meciar Comments at Ceremony

LD1111000393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Slovak President Michal Kovac named six new members to the current Prime Minister Meciar-led coalition government at the Bratislava castle today. [passage omitted]

Even after today's appointments, the Meciar cabinet is incomplete. The post of minister for administration and privatization of national property is still vacant as President Michal Kovac did not accept the nomination of Ivan Lexa for this post.

Following the oath, President Michal Kovac addressed the newly appointed members of the government. He stressed that since the formation of our state, all of us have been aware of the fact that a stable government supported by a reliable majority in the parliament was one of the fundamental preconditions of the Slovak state's successful development. This is why the president welcomed the forming of the HZDS-SNS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Slovak National Party] coalition government. According to Michal Kovac, this positive result of political talks has shown that leading politicians are capable of reaching a consensus about Slovakia's orientation through open talks and meeting each other half way. In this sense, today is a very significant day for our republic, Michal Kovac said. Starting today, the coalition government will be capable of relying on wider support in the parliament and among the people—and this will doubtlessly give it a chance to concentrate fully on priority internal policy and foreign policy issues.

One part of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's address caused a bit of sensation in the hall. He said among other things:

[Begin recording] [Meciar] This coalition government was formed after complicated political talks as well as after a slightly unusual procedural (?process). [passage indistinct] No doubt the Government of the Slovak Republic will have to tackle many problems, the forthcoming period will not be an easy one for it. [passage indistinct] On the basis of the coalition agreement, it can count on majority support at the parliament. And we would be very happy, Mr. President, if we were able to say that we can also count on your support, that the word you give to constitutional officials one day is still valid the next day.

[Kovac, interrupting] It is, and it has always been Mr. Prime Minister.

[Meciar] On this occasion, I would like to express regret that I am unable to present the government as a complete one. [passage indistinct] Despite this, we are sure that the government will fulfill its obligations outlined by the constitution and will cope with its tasks. I would like to tell all of you who were appointed today, welcome on board. Welcome to the work and responsibility we share. Time will test the propriety, endurance, and value of this step. I trust the test of time. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Kovac Addresses New Ministers

AU1111060893 Prague CTK in English 1841 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 10 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac, in his speech to the newly appointed ministers to the Slovak cabinet here today, stressed that a stable government backed by the reliable majority in parliament was one of the basic preconditions for the successful development of the state.

Kovac appointed six new members to the cabinet today who had been nominated by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS). The new Slovak Government has thus become a coalition one. In the 150-seat Slovak parliament, HZDS holds 66 seats and the SNS 14.

Kovac welcomed the creation of the coalition between the HZDS and SNS which, he said, would enable the government to fully concentrate on priorities of internal and foreign policy.

He described as problems of key importance economic transformation, reorganisation of the state administration and a well-prepared foreign policy which would help

Slovakia rapidly approach the level of advanced democratic countries around the world.

Kovac on Refusal To Appoint Lexa

LD1011212793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] As we have already informed you, President Michal Kovac answered journalists' questions at a regular press conference organized by the SLOBODNY PIATOK weekly.

He confirmed once again that as early as during the initial talks, he disagreed with Ivan Lexa as a candidate for the ministerial post. In the course of one discussion he said that he would rather resign from the post of president than to confirm the list of candidates.

In the context of appointing Jan Ducky to the post of economy minister, Michal Kovac said that he checked reservations against him with several sources, and once he discovered they were unsubstantiated he agreed to appoint him.

According to the president of the Republic, the achievement of a peaceful atmosphere and cooperation was a matter not only for the coalition but depended as well on the constructive attitude of other political entities, above all the parliamentary ones.

Composition of New Cabinet Reported

AU1011185193 Prague CTK in English 1707 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Prague/Bratislava Nov 10 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac today appointed six new members to the Slovak Government. The new government has thus become a coalition one made up of members nominated by the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS).

The following is the composition of the current Slovak cabinet:

Premier: Vladimir Meciar (HZDS);

Deputy premiers (all newly appointed with the exception of Roman Kovac): Marian Andel (SNS) (responsible for culture, education, science, youth and sports);

Roman Kovac (HZDS) (social relations, national minority policies, church and so forth);

Sergej Kozlik (HZDS) (economic transformation);

Jozef Prokes (SNS) (integration into the European Union)

Julius Toth (HZDS);

Ministers: Minister of transport, telecommunications and public works: Roman Hofbauer—HZDS;

Minister of finance: Julius Toth—HZDS;

Minister of economics: Jan Ducky—HZDS (new);

Minister of culture: Dusan Slobodnik—HZDS;

Minister of defence: Imrich Andrejcak—(independent);

Minister of labour, social affairs and the family: Olga Keltosova—HZDS;

Minister for the administration and privatisation of national property: Vladimir Meciar—HZDS, charged with temporary management;

Minister of justice: Katarina Tothova—HZDS;

Minister of education and science: Jaroslav Paska—SNS (new)

Minister of the interior: Jozef Tuchyna—independent;

Minister of foreign affairs: Jozef Moravcik—HZDS;

Minister of health: Viliam Sobona—HZDS;

Minister of agriculture: Peter Baco—HZDS;

Minister for the environment: Jozef Zlocha—HZDS.

Meciar-Kovac Conflict Over Government Viewed

AU1011144493 Prague CTK in English 1010 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CTK)—Premier Meciar knows perfectly well President Kovac's reservations about Ivan Lexa and its causes. He must have been fully aware of Kovac's reaction to his proposal of appointing Lexa as minister, today's trade union daily PRACA says.

The paper believes that Meciar's en bloc cabinet proposal was another planned test of Kovac's integrity before the public. The idea was well prepared because now he can blame the escalation of the government crisis on the president.

If HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) Chairman Meciar announced that he would not accept the president's attitude and that he would resume the talks with the SNS (Slovak National Party) from the very beginning, he would achieve what he had wanted. This politicking suits him, because it diverts attention from the crucial problems of society, the daily states.

In the editorial of the left-orientated PRAVDA, Marian Lesko comes to the conclusion that Kovac's rejection of the whole proposal could have been expected because if the president had agreed he would not have postponed his announcement of his stand (he received the proposal on Friday [5 November] and would not have consulted the opposition parties. Nor he would have allowed the public to learn that Meciar had presented his proposal with one condition: either all or nothing.

His decision has undoubtedly further complicated the difficult political situation. This will be, however, hardly

eased by a possible campaign against him. It would be better to trust him that he proceeded in accordance with his sincere belief and could not have done otherwise, Lesko states.

When Premier Meciar admitted the existence of several factions inside the HZDS several days ago, he evidently intended to prevent these people from leaving the HZDS until he fully controls developments again, PRAVDA says. He repelled an attempt by several HZDS politicians to move into the Social Democratic club, the paper states.

The canvassing couple, composed of the current minister and former deputy premier of the Federal Government (Josef Moravcik and Rudolf Filkus), has evidently failed. They tried to exert pressure in the parliament lobby on the eve of a congress of the Slovak Social Democrats. This was obviously the last straw for Filkus (former HZDS member) who was making up his mind about his political future he confirmed that he would join Knazko's Alliance of Democrats. [sentence as received]

The opposition SME asks whether it is pressure to present the cabinet composition en bloc and announce that the whole must be approved, or whether the pressure is just calling this a pressure. The paper comes to the conclusion that the statement that the rejection of a single candidate is destabilizing and destroys the government coalition can be made only if further steps are envisaged. This statement was made both by Lexa and Meciar. Statements of this kind made by high-ranking figures are very close to the dissemination of alarming news. [passage omitted]

Leaders Briefed on Military Restructuring

AU1011182593 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 9 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Colonel Stanislaw Lukaszewski and Major Mariusz Jedrzejko: "Defense and State Security Are Not Just the Army's Business"]

[Text] A two-day educational briefing of the leadership cadres of the Armed Forces commenced on 8 November, attended by President Lech Walesa, head of the Armed Forces. The purpose of the briefing is to assess the Army's service and training activity and define the principal tasks for 1994. Also attending the event, which was organized by General of Arms Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the Polish Army General Staff, were the following: Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak; Sejm speaker Jozef Oleksy; Minister of National Defense Piotr Kolodziejczyk; Chief of the Office of National Security Jerzy Milewski; and the chairmen of the Sejm and Senate National Defense Committees.

The talks, also attended by Ministers Mieczyslaw Wachowksi and Andrzej Drzycimski, examined the functioning of the Armed Forces within the new organizational structure, and assessed the combat readiness of individual structures of our Army. The meeting was attended by the leadership of the Polish Army General Staff, the commanders of the military districts and service branches, vice ministers of national defense, and chiefs of central Defense Ministry institutions. The briefing illustrated the complex conditions under which the Armed Forces now have to function. The annual training briefing began with the swearing of a military oath by the leadership of the General Staff and commanders of the military districts and service branches. The oath was administered by the head of the Armed Forces.

In his speech, the chief of the General Staff addressed the performance of tasks and described the process of Army restructuring.

An Honestly-Discharged Duty

That, in a nutshell, is how one can describe the speech by General of Arms Tadeusz Wilecki.

The past year provided a huge number of undertakings concerning the reorganization of the Armed Forces. Despite the considerable financial restrictions, none of the changes that stem from the planned process of transformation have reduced the readiness of the combat units and systems that are necessary to safeguard the sovereignty and security of the borders.

General Wilecki discussed at length the place and role of an army in a democratic state.

The best yardstick for measuring the attitudes of cadres may be the following statement by the general: The Army has remained apolitical and loyal toward the constitutional authorities of the Republic.

The leading topic of the speech was the conditions and problems of the Army's current functioning. The general stressed that not just the Armed Forces are responsible for the performance of domestic and external defense tasks, but every component of the state's defense system must feel this responsibility as well. Within the scope of strictly-defined duties and tasks, each organ of national and local government must know its place within the defense system and the tasks stemming from it.

The performance of these tasks should be aided by legal solutions which the General Staff has also put forward, including the law on the general duty of defense and the law on professional military service.

The year 1993 was a year of normal military and soldierly work. I am pleased that we have made an improvement in the training of command centers, staff, and forces, said General Wilecki.

Referring to future solutions that will impact on the Army's condition, the chief of the General Staff indicated the provisions of the "1993-1995 Polish Armed Forces Development Plan" and the plan for equipping the Armed Forces with weapons and materiel by the year 2010. Examining the role of the General Staff in its new integrated shape, he said that the General Staff is now the only command body of the Polish Armed Forces.

The course of the briefing affirmed that the reality of military service necessitates a critical view of the conditions under which the Army as to perform its tasks. Therefore it is no coincidence that General Wilecki said in the presence of the head of the Armed Forces that in many spheres of activity, the situation of the Armed Forces is critical. This is not just because of the budget restrictions, but also because of the financial mechanisms in force. For this reason, for example, the Army has only received three W-3 Sokol [Falcon] helicopters and a dozen self-propelled howitzers. This is just a drop in the ocean of requirements. Improving the Army's technological level, the acquisition of modern equipment, and research into world-class technology is vital for the efficiency of our defense system.

Assessing the current principles of financing the Armed Forces, General Wilecki noted that it is unacceptable to burden the Defense Ministry budget with such heavy taxes, which account for over 24 percent of the ministry's funds.

In his speech, the general dwelt at length on the financial and social dilemmas of the military community.

I visit garrisons very frequently, he said. I owe respect to these soldiers. Some of them are genuine enthusiasts of their careers—commanders, pilots, seamen, and operators. I also visit foreign countries. We really have no reason to be ashamed of our soldiers. However, words alone are no longer enough.

The chief of staff described the situation, where real wages do not compensate the labors of military service,

as detrimental. A blatant example of this is the latest wage increase, thanks to which the Army receives less pay than in September. In General Wilecki's opinion, there is an urgent need to change the pay system in the Army.

In his speech, the chief of staff also referred to the urgent need to define the powers of the bodies that control the Army. In particular, it is necessary to distinguish between the powers of the Defense Ministry, which is a political-administrative body, and the General Staff, on which the duty to command the Armed Forces on a day-to-day basis rests.

Speeches by Invited Guests

The next person to speak was Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense:

"Esteemed Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, and officers.

"Unlike other things, neither freedom nor sovereignty are obtained as a present or on credit.

"On many occasions, history has proved that it is often easier to win independence than to preserve and defend it later, hence an army capable of safeguarding the inviolability of a country's borders is an important feature of an independent country. He who does not respect his own army often has to respect a foreign army later.

"Fortunately, the situation on our continent has changed decidedly for the better in recent years. One can allow oneself a certain amount of immodesty and say that this process was commenced by the Poles under the leadership of the current Polish president, Mr. Lech Walesa.

"Despite the undoubtable significance of the achievements, the thorough reconstruction of our European home is encountering many thresholds and barriers. Some of these barriers, unfortunately, are subjective ones, which raise the costs of the changes implemented by the countries that are building democracy. While supporting the changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe, the Western democracies are going over from material support to verbal support with increasing evidence. This also applies to the idea of building a partner-like all-European system of security on our continent!

"The general reluctance to expand NATO, coupled with a certain increase in ill will, may be interpreted as a desire to preserve at all costs the division between a rich family that travels in total comfort inside a railroad carriage, and poor relatives who ride on the bumpers of the locomotive."

"Very hazy and imprecise promises, presenting no concrete time frame and specifying no list of conditions for the admission to NATO of Poland and the other countries, are making the situation unclear to say the least. I do not think time should be the basis of such a decision. It is true that we do not expect to be admitted to NATO right away, after having made just one major step forward. Time is necessary for this. We also need this time. There is no need to ponder, because we have already done that. Also, there is no question of an unproductive wait in the antechamber of NATO. This time is required to adapt Poland to conditions which, we hope, will be presented to Poland in a clear manner. Of course we can guess what they will be, and without waiting for them to be officially announced, we have been building and improving for several years our internal system, based on parliamentary democracy and the system of human rights. A thorough restructuring of the Armed Forces is under way. A consistent tightening of bilateral and multilateral cooperation is also under way. We are fully open to all initiatives that accelerate the construction of a European system of collective security. On the road to integration with NATO, we cannot and will not dictate terms to our Western partners. All we want is for them to state these conditions clearly.

"Whatever these conditions are, there is no doubt that they will be difficult and costly. The helmsmen and crew of our ship of state must realize that. Safeguarding the country's security has always been costly, and will remain so. Hence the Defense Ministry's expectations that the era of meager budgets that has existed for several years will finally end. The Armed Forces cannot be restructured without a knowledge of and without a guarantee of the resources that can be allocated for this purpose for the next five years at least. Here I wish to remind you of the obvious truth that one can spend a sum of money whose size is known exactly far more wisely than a sum of money whose size is uncertain. Everyone knows that one pair of good boots will offer better protection against the rain than three pairs of boots with holes in them. But what can we do if the money we have right now is not always enough to repair the holes, the number of which is increasing all the time?

"Politicians should realize (military men have been aware of this for a long time) that the process of including Poland in NATO will require considerable outlay, and that expectations that the NATO countries will cover these costs are unjustified. One must also realize that independent safeguards of state security would be far costlier.

"If we are serious about providing our country with systematic security, then concrete decisions, resulting in concrete activity, must be made today. In this context, maintaining the defense budget at its pevious level erases our hopes in advance. Therefore the previous practice of allocating for defense purposes sums of money that occupy an ever-decreasing percentage of the national budget is unacceptable. In addition, the absence of budget guarantees extending further ahead than one year in advance makes it impossible to plan adaptation measures properly, as well as other rational activity. As a result, the money of Polish taxpayers is not being spent effectively.

"Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister. Unless a constant sum of money out of the state budget is allocated for modernizing the Army, our NATO aspirations may be forever viewed as 'wishful thinking' by our Western partners.

"Regardless of the criticism of the NATO option adopted by our country (this criticism, incidentally, not being based on any rational argumentation), we will steadfastly proceed toward our objective. We consider integration within the framework of the Visegrad group as an important stage of this activity. We attach great hopes to the 'partnership for peace' concept as well as to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council initiative. By means of energetic action, we wish to demonstrate our unchanging will to guarantee the Republic and its neighbors the best possible security conditions.

"While aspiring to NATO membership, we nevertheless cannot view the pact without criticism. There is no doubt that it remains a stabilizing factor in Europe. However, I am not sure it will be able to perform this role in future, on account of the disappearance of the circumstances that brought about its creation. I fervently hope that our Western partners also realize this, and that they will soon stop viewing us as 'orphans of the Warsaw Pact.'

"Gentlemen! We all know that the head of the Armed Forces is committed to a full stabilization of Poland's defense system. This refers to all the personal setups inside the Defense Ministry's civilian and military structures. These structures must remain resilient to any changes on the political scene. Changes inside parliamentary coalitions, or even the results of subseqent elections, should have no major and far-reaching effects on Army personnel.

"There is no doubt as to the urgent need to define by law the functioning of the Defense Ministry, and thus create a clear demarcation between the powers and responsibilities of the Ministry's military structures, and those of the Ministry's civilian structures.

"Under no circumstances should the Army meddle with politics. This is quite simply unhealthy. At the very least, it is unhygienic and harmful to the interests of a democratic state. Also, the rather widespread servility of officers toward 'decision-makers,' who keep changing all the time, does not suit their dignity. A soldier should be guided by the defense interests of his country and should leave politics to the people appointed to deal with it.

"Obviously a soldier, as a Polish citizen, has the right to possess his own political views and express his feelings and convictions. But he can do so only as a citizen, in other words off duty and out of uniform.

"I note with great satisfaction that the Polish Army Field Bishopric has become a very significant part of our Army's new order. I think the difficult period of restoring (in fact, rebuilding) this corps, so important for our forces' morale, is coming to an end. That does not mean the work is finished. The next stage, an equally difficult one, lies ahead. We bear the legal burden of satisfying the religious needs of all soldiers, and in the shortest possible time. There must be a full integration of all structures whose members wear the uniforms of Polish soldiers. When one decides to perform a responsible spiritual mission in the ranks of the Army, one must realize that this involves the need to submit to the same regulations as other comrades in arms wearing the same uniform. The Polish Army must have one set of regulations, one set of criteria, one system of rights regardless of the badge worn in one's lapel.

"Gentlemen! There are many important problems that I do not have time to discuss, but I am sure they will be touched upon during the remainder of the briefing, which I intend to participate in to the extent that my other duties permit this.

"Mr. President, Mr.Prime Minister, Officers! Ahead of us is a long road. The objective it leads to is a fail-safe system of security for a democratic country. Taking this road is a very tough labor, but one which we must all undertake."

President Lech Walesa's speech contained profound concern for defense, and therefore for the Armed Forces as well:

"Officers! Once again I have an opportunity to attend your training briefing. A year of hard work inside military staffs and training units and on exercise grounds has elapsed. You have perfected your soldierly capabilities. You have acquainted yourselves with our country's defense capabilities. I have been watching with satisfaction the results of this activity.

"As head of the Armed Forces, I have been carefully watching the changes taking place in the Army. I have been doing so all the more closely because the world is still not free of war or danger. Some dangers might have gone, but new ones have appeared.

"Questions of European security have still not been resolved. In Europe one can hear shooting. Some say that this shooting is far away and does not concern us. Today, our borders are safe. But is a conflict closer to Poland really out of the question? Therefore we must remember that freedom is not given once and for all. It has to be consolidated every single day.

"In the meantime, Poland is not adequately prepared to defend its sovereignty and repel a potential crisis. Neither are we sure of support in difficult times.

"The past four years which history has given us have not been used to full advantage. They should have been used to build our own efficient defense system, one that suits present and future needs. We wasted four years on empty disputes and ambition-based struggles. This must end.

"We have started to build a defense system. I hope the newly-elected Sejm, Senate, and government consider this a priority task. I see an urgent need quickly to amend

the legal provisions concerning security, and in particular to include security provisions in the new constitution and amend the law on the general duty to defend the Republic of Poland.

"The new minister of national defense is a man of great military experience. He feels and understands the security needs of Poland. I trust that he will inspire new and effective solutions in this sphere.

"I hold the work of the chief of the General Staff in great esteem. With his commitment and effective leadership, he has been able to win over cadres and soldiers to the performance of very responsible tasks in a difficult time.

"New tasks face the Polish arms industry. It must be the main source of modern equipment for our Army. Polish scientific thought and economic potential must provide employment and safeguard the country's security.

"I realize the shortages and grievances of our Armed Forces. The resources we are currently allocating to the Army are meager. But I know you will make good and efficient use of them. As the economic situation improves, more funds can be allocated to defense. The first step should be a guarantee of a constant percentage of budget funds for defense purposes.

"You can count on my help and complete support in these matters.

"Officers! Europe is seeking new solutions in the sphere of security. The new countries are creating their own sovereign armed forces. They also want to join the collective security system. However, this is a difficult process requiring much thought and original solutions.

"Poland is aiming toward full participation in the Western system of security and NATO membership. Despite many difficulties, we have achieved certain progress along this road. Our policy in this regard is consistent and flexible, but experiences have caused us some disappointment and bitterness.

"The Polish Army remains the guarantor of our security. In the present situation, we must remember this fact, although it is not always satisfactorily underlined and understood.

"Therefore defense matters, including the Polish Armed Forces must be a subject of the whole nation's concern. One must understand that even certain sacrifices are necessary to increase Poland's security. We must not be guided by our emotions in these matters. A warm heart is required, but a cool head as well.

"The country's defense and security are not just the Army's business. They are also the duty of every citizen and every Pole. As president, I will see to it that everyone realizes this truth.

"I am very happy to attend this cadres briefing. As you know, I harbor a great amount of warm feeling for the Polish Army. I respect and appreciate your loyalty, courage, and responsibility.

"It is you, gentlemen, inside the military staffs and units, who create the sovereign nature of our Armed Forces. You wear with honor the uniforms of officers of a reborn and free Poland.

"I would like to thank you and all the cadres and soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces for your daily work, soldierly toil, and dedication in service for the fatherland.

"I wish you steadfastness and professional success, as well as good health and personal success."

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak discussed problems of defense and the role of the Army. He thanked the hosts for their achievements so far, for their work on modernizing the Armed Forces, and for their skillful use of the modest funds allocated for military purposes.

"The government will aim to translate into practical terms the truth that the Polish Army is the guarantor of national security," said the prime minister. "Our goal is to build our own defense system and join NATO structures.

"It is necessary to speed up legislative work, especially the formulation of the relevant provisions of the new constitution and an amendment to the law on the general duty to defend the country. It is also necessary to pass a new law on pensions for professional soldiers and their families.

"I observe with concern the falling outlays on defense, at the same time as which the international situation is becoming more complex. I consider it essential to undertake urgent tasks to stop the fall in outlays for modernizing the Armed Forces. It is urgently necessary to examine the economic possibility of providing the Army with at least 3 percent of the GNP in the not too distant future.

"The restructuring of the weapons industry will be accorded special importance in the government's work. This will be one the government's priorities. We will see to it that as a result of this, the Armed Forces receive the correct standard of armaments and equipment that matches the standards of other countries," said Prime Minister Pawlak in his short speech.

Next, an order was read out conferring the "Honorable Emblem of the Polish Armed Forces" on leading military units.

A Return To Chivalrous Traditions

In the process of restoring the traditions that existed during the time of King Mieszko I and the Jagiello dynasty, and later during the Kosciuszko Uprising and national insurrections, honorary distinctions will be

introduced to the Army. In the past, the best knights received ornamental swords, kerchiefs, and rings from the hands of the king.

During the briefing, for the first time in the postwar history of our Armed Forces, a group of 15 commanders representing the best military units and academies received an "Honorable Emblem of the Polish Armed Forces" from the hands of the chief of the General Staff, General of Arms Tadeusz Wilecki. The emblem, in the form of a breastplate emblazoned with banners and an eagle, was designed by Colonel Jacek Macysyn. Apart from honorary rings, the emblem will be conferred on combat units, and is part of a series of planned distinctions that recognize good results in training and service.

Addressing the commanders of the distinguished units, General Wilecki noted that the significance of the emblem is highlighted by the fact that cadres and soldiers are now acting under particularly difficult conditions. President Walesa conveyed personal wishes to the commanders and the units under their command.

Colonel Zbigniew Glowienka, commander of the 8th Mechanized Division, expressed thanks for the emblems on behalf of the units that had received it.

During an examination of the work of the Armed Forces in 1993, much attention was paid to the planning and running of army structures.

The political-military aspects of Poland's situation are being considered in every key decision taken by the General Staff, it was said. General of Division Edmund Bolociuch, first deputy chief of the General Staff, discussed the tasks stemming from this.

In his speech, he presented the results of work connected with altering the organizational structure of the Army, as well as practical ways of implementing the tasks of state security policy.

At this stage of the briefing, a great amount of attention was devoted to an assessment of the way in which military funds are being used.

Further on, solutions concerning the mobilization and addition of forces were discussed. Conclusions in this sphere and planning tasks were presented by General of Brigade Jaroslaw Bielecki, who suggested changes to the law on the general duty of military defense, as well as new ideas concerning medical checks for recruits.

One of the major changes within the structures of the General Staff is the Training Inspectorate. General of Division Leon Komornicki discussed the functioning of this unit.

He indicated various factors that determine the rate and scope of training. The most important ones are financial resources and the change in the deployment of military units.

General Komornicki also discussed the interrelations between training and upbringing in a modern army. The integration of these spheres of activity is a basic condition for creating a straightforward system of preparing soldiers to act in combat conditions.

General Komornicki discussed the most important phenomena in the sphere of discipline, including informal soldierly customs that conflict with the principle of establishing social relations. He indicate the need to create a clear distinction between the duties of educational cells within the military-civilian structures of the Defense Ministry and General Staff, in conformity with the principles of single command and the abovementioned principles of integrating training processes.

During the briefing, a planned model of modern command was presented, as well as ways of improving the knowledge and qualifications of cadres. A document is being prepared which takes a fresh look at military service.

Many conclusions were presented on the subject of combat training. These matters were presented by General of Brigade Aleksander Poniewierka, who indicated organizational and financial conditions. He also presented the main provisions of training programs and methods of implementing new military regulations that are compatible with a modern army.

The briefing also served to acquaint the Polish Army leadership cadres with model solutions in educational work. The concept that was proposed is a far cry from previous practice. It was presented by Colonel Jozef Szczecki. The new model should be better suited to the realities of service, because it covers the principles of command and competition, and the shaping of a soldier's personality.

The principles of command activity, including planning and control, were discussed at length. As far as control work is concerned, the purpose is to check the combat readiness of units, said Colonel Leszek Chyla.

The Army cannot be efficient without good cadres who are trained to service modern technology and lead groups of people. New solutions concerning the organization of military training will be introduced. There will be four officer academies instead of the one at present, and funds for training will be pooled. Intensive work is under way to produce new principles for the training of professional and contractual warrant officers.

During the briefing, Colonel Tadeusz Grabowski, director of the Finance Department of the Defense Ministry, read a report on Defense Military cadres policy. We will return to many of these problems in separate articles. The second day of the briefing will begin with problems of logistical safeguards of Army life and training, The ecological aspect of military training will also be discussed.

Senior Officers Promoted on Independence Day

LD1111143593 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1206 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Nov—On the occasion of the National Independence Day, President Lech Walesa, supreme commander of the armed forces, has presented 38 officers with nominations to the rank of general. The ceremony in Belweder Palace was attended by Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy and Senate Speaker Adam Struzik, by the defense and interior ministers, by the head of the National Security Office, and by officers of the Polish Army.

Eight officers have been promoted to the rank of lieutenant general [general dywizji] and 30 colonels to the rank of major general [general brygady], including two from the police.

Promoted to the rank of leutenant general are: Zenon Bryk, commander of the Krakow Military District; Slawoj Leszek Glodz, field bishop, Tadeusz Jauer, commander of the General Staff Air Defense Troops; Tadeusz Komarnicki, quartermaster of the Silesian Military District; Czeslaw Laszczkowski, head of the defense systems department of the National Security Council; Jozef Muszynski, head of the Military Education Directorate; Janusz Ornatowski, commander of the Silesian Military District; and Marian Robelek, head of the armed forces strategic planning in the General Staff.

Among 30 officers promoted to the rank of major general are Alfons Kupis, commandant of the Military Police, and Zenon Smolarek, Commandant of Police.

Addressing the newly promoted generals, President Lech Walesa said that the nominations testify to important changes in the army carried out with prudence and consistency. You are the commanding cadre, you will build a strong modern and apolitical army. Poland looks at you with hope. Today's holiday teaches us also that independence is not given once and for all. It has to be consolidated and protected. Means and methods of defense should be improved even if there is no immediate danger to us, the president said.

From today, there are 110 generals in the Polish Army (there are 427 posts in all). By the end of this year, 10 generals will leave the army. Generals make up 0.3 percent of the officers' cadre. Since 1981, nearly all generals' cadre have been replaced, with only three still remaining in service.

The highest rank in active service today is held by general [general broni] Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of general staff. The youngest general is 44-year old rear-admiral Roman Krzyzelewski. The average age of generals does not exceed 50. In comparison with the armies of other states, the number of generals in the Polish Army is low.

Security Chief Appointed Defense Ministry Secretary

LD1111154793 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1325 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Nov—The President's Press Office has announced that on 11 November, after consultations with Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, Waldemar Pawlak, chairman of the Council of Ministers, appointed Dr. Jerzy Milewski to the post of the secretary of state in the Ministry of National Defense. At the same time, Milewski retains his post as the head of the National Security Bureau attached to the president's chancellery.

Four Right-Wing Parties Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD1111162593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Leadership representatives of four right-wing parties: The Party of Christian Democrats, the Conservative Party, the Peasant Christian Party, and the Union of Real Politics have signed an agreement on cooperation in Warsaw today.

In a statement the leaders of the four parties declare that they are going to undertake joint actions in defense of traditional values, of the principles of the balance of power, private ownership, and freedom of business activity unhindered by high taxes.

French, German Foreign Ministers Arrive for Talks

LD1111210393 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1816 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Nov (PAP)—The foreign ministers of Germany and France, Klaus Kinkel and Alain Juppe, have arrived in Poland for a meeting of the so-called Weimar Triangle. The special planes carrying the guests landed at [Okecie] military airport in Warsaw this evening. The guests were greeted by Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski, who is the host of the meeting.

Olechowski told journalists at the airport that the trilateral talks will above all concern issues of security and European integration. "The Triangle was created so that we could present our ideas and arguments to those who decide about integration," Olechowski said. He stated that the question of Poland's membership in and cooperation with NATO and its association with the Western European Union will also be discussed at the meeting.

In the evening, the guests will take part in a ceremonial dinner given by Minister Olechowski. Bilateral Polish-German and Polish- French talks were to have taken place earlier.

The Warsaw talks will be the third meeting of the Weimar Triangle, although all three ministers are taking

part in it for the first time. In the previous meetings, in Weimar, Germany, in 1991 and in Bergerac, France, in 1992, the participants were Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Roland Dumas, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who was the initiator of the Triangle.

Olechowski, Kinkel, Juppe Comment

LD1111214993 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2025 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 11 November—Polish-German and Polish- French bilateral relations were the subject of talks held on 11 November between Andrzej Olechowski, Klaus Kinkel, and Alain Juppe. After the half hour meetings between the German, French, and Polish foreign ministers, Minister Olechowski hosted the guests for dinner.

Olechowski told PAP that during the talks a review of bilateral relations with both states was carried out and issues associated with Poland's joining of Western European structures were discussed. "We are concerned that France complete the process of ratification of Poland's association agreement with the communities and that it come into force from 1 January 1994, said Olechowski. Alain Juppe told journalists that "the fate of all countries that have signed association treaties" is membership of the union.

Olechowski expressed the hope that Germany will continue its "friendly and supportive stance" in relation to the integrative desires of Poland. Klaus Kinkel stated that the talks related above all to "the three questions interesting Poland at the moment—relations with NATO, the EEC, and the WEU [Western European Union]." He added that the Germans "in general support" the efforts of Poland on this matter. [passage omitted]

Further on Talks

LD1211115993 Berlin ADN in German 0838 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—The foreign ministers of Germany, Poland, and France met in Warsaw this morning for two and a half hours of talks. German diplomatic sources said the meeting would focus chiefly on Poland's gradual movement toward the European Union (EU), NATO, and the Western European Union [WEU]. Germany and France are determined that Poland and the other former eastern bloc states should join their West European partners. Poland's association agreement with the EU could come into force on 1 January next year. However, full EC membership for the countries of central and eastern Europe will not be looked at until after the accession of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] states, the sources said.

The sources added that Bonn will work for Poland to be given associated status with the WEU. Steps enabling the slow movement of the former eastern bloc countries toward NATO via the cooperation council [as received] are due to be discussed at next year's summit. However, a decision will not be taken yet. While closer relations are in principle desirable, any possible expansion of NATO cannot be allowed to create new divisions. Poland is, like France, a large neighbor of crucial importance with which Germany is anxious to deepen relations. Bilateral relations are already good, despite a few small problems, the sources said.

Walesa Receives Foreign Ministers

LD1211121393 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1104 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Nov—President Lech Walesa received on 12 November the French and German foreign ministers, Alain Juppe and Klaus Kinkel, who were accompanied by Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski. Addressing the ministers, the president said that he hoped that talks would lead to an understanding of Poland's wish to be included in European economic and security zones. He stressed that France and Germany had the greatest part to play in this process.

Pawlak Sees 1994 Budget as 'Urgent Priority'

AU1111204893 Warsaw PAP in English 1234 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—Poland's new prime minister Waldemar Pawlak said on Wednesday [10 November] that he was convinced his government will see out its full 4-year term.

At a press conference following the overwhelming vote of confidence in the Sejm (lower house), Pawlak said that the most urgent priorities facing his government were the preparation of the draft budget for 1994 and related legislative measures, and the formulation of a strategy for the next four years.

Pawlak pledged that the new government would not create a special commission to investigate the activities of the Suchocka government following the dissolution of parliament in June, as demanded by members of his Polish Peasant's Party (PSL), since ministers will be able to do that for themselves.

On his relations with President Walesa, Pawlak said that the situation had greatly improved recently. He also pledged open cooperation with the media.

Asked to comment on the apology for the former communist dictatorship offered on Tuesday [9 November] by Aleksander Kwasniewski of the Democratic Left Alliance, Pawlak claimed that too much time was spent scoring points off political opponents. "Systems and parties come and go, but what remains is what they built," he observed.

On the subject of the concordat with the Vatican, signed by the previous government but subject to ratification by the Sejm, Pawlak said that his aim was to avoid conflict, and again to seek agreement.

On external relations, the prime minister said that the guarantee of Polish security must be built above all on the country's own strength, since there was a lack of clear declarations from foreign parties.

Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Views Policy

WS1011151793 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Danuta Walewska: "Cabinet Members Before Sejm Committees; Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Leslaw Podkanski; Unless I Get the Money, I Will Resign"]

[Text] "The Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation has a deficit of 721 million zlotys in the November salary fund. Contingents and licenses have been distributed, and the employment level is as high as can be. The negative foreign trade balance is $2.3 billion; at the end of this year, it will probably increase to $2.5 billion," said Leslaw Podkanski to the Committee of Foreign Economic Relations and Maritime Economy.

Very soon he is going to reorganize his ministry. He believes that the Main Customs Office should be subordinated to the Finance Ministry; he is also going to establish a department of customs policy in his ministry. He would like to see to it that Polish foreign policy and foreign trade are more uniform. He believes in good cooperation with Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Olechowski. If need be, there will be personnel changes in foreign posts of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation. "I cannot accept the fact that economic and diplomatic organs are unable to cooperate with one another. Still, I have received signals from most of the 89 Polish agencies that cooperation between the diplomatic and commercial organs is not very good."

Leslaw Podkanski stressed more than once that, for him, supporting exports is a priority. He believes that the needs of the ministry will be understood in the Finance Ministry. "Unless I get the money, I will resign," he said. "In the state budget there is not enough money for everything; however, there are possibilities of limiting expenditures and I am counting on such an analysis. I do not want to be a customer in the Finance Ministry, because it does not have to be simply cash. Sometimes a guarantee is enough." Podkanski hopes that the need to support exports (he needs between 4 and 5 trillion zlotys) will be taken into account when the 1994 budget is prepared.

Podkanski claims that there is demand for Polish goods. "The authorities in Moscow want to buy $80 million to $90 million worth of consumer goods. The Chinese are interested in our machines. There is a chance to get a contract worth $500 million. It is not true that our products are not wanted anywhere."

He is going to "pay the EC in its own coin" as far as its protectionist activities are concerned. Concrete steps to be taken will be discussed with the various ministries. The minister already has intentions to negotiate appropriate sums for next year now, so that the "twelve" will not create barriers for calves and soft fruit. "However, the future of our foreign trade is in the East," he stressed several times.

He also knows how to handle foreign partners who want to sell us their goods at dumping prices—introduce compensatory fees.

Leslaw Podkanski also presented his interpretation of our settlements with Russia. According to him, we are the debtors and we are in arrears with a payment of over 12 trillion zlotys. He did not want to elaborate on this. He thought that this subject should be discussed by a Sejm committee.

Leslaw Podkanski was accepted; 17 deputies supported him, 5 were against, and one—himself—abstained.

Pawlak Comments on Cooperation With European Union

LD1011223893 Warsaw PAP in English 1751 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 10—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak Wednesday said he hoped that the process of Poland's political and economic integration with western Europe would continue to favourably develop and that economic cooperation would be based on the principle of equal chances.

Pawlak made the statement following an hour-long meeting with ambassadors of member-states of the European Union, during which he assured the diplomats that he would not stop the Polish process of privatization.

Asked whether the government plans to subsidize agriculture the prime minister replied that due to modest possibilities of the state budget the scope of such subsidies would be limited.

Ambassador of Belgium to Poland Francois Ronse speaking on behalf of all ambassadors assured Pawlak of the European Union will to cooperate with Poland.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrzej Olechowski said after the meeting that the ambassadors were interested in details of the prime minister's Monday policy speech to parliament.

According to Alexandr Dijckmeester, the permanent representative of the European Union to Poland, the interest referred primarily to investments, welfare expenditures, especially for health protection, unemployment, privatization and agriculture.

Foreign Minister Addresses Sejm Hearing

WS1011151293 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 Nov 93 p 2

[Report signed by M.W.: "Cabinet Members Before Sejm Commissions; Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski; Every Fifty Years"]

[Text] **"It is my and the new government's intention to create a consensus of all political forces on foreign policy issues, including those forces which belong to the opposition outside of parliament," Andrzej Olechowski stressed many times during his hearing before the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission. Chairman of the commission, Bronislaw Geremek of the Democratic Union [UD], evaluated very positively that statement, and also other statements by the minister. But despite that, Geremek failed to convince all those present at the session to come up with a motion of the commission's positive recommendation of Olechowski's candidacy without a vote. In the end, 23 deputies were in favor, three were against (all from the Confederation for an Independent Poland), and four deputies (UD members) abstained.**

Strategic foreign policy decisions—Olechowski stressed—should be reached within the president-parliament-government arrangement.

"The direction of our foreign policy will remain unchanged, and that is an important message which I am addressing both inside our country, and beyond its borders"—Minister Olechowski said. He regards a "formalization" of our foreign policy, insufficient emphasis on "economic issues," as well as lack of a "cordial" policy toward Russia, as weak points of Polish foreign policy up to now. The main modification to current policy is supposed to render it "sensitive to economic issues," instead of being geared toward "formal and juridical" ones. "Once every 50 years, an economist becomes the chief diplomat"—said Minister Olechowski.

Minister Olechowski stressed the fact that Poland also bears responsibility for everything that is happening on the European continent. Poland should become a bridge between West and East. The following priorities of Polish foreign policy remain unchanged—full participation in the process of European integration (European Union, Western European Union), even though the integration in question has been progressing at a slower rate than we expected; membership in NATO, because of a feeling of inadequate security; and developing bilateral relations with various countries. Relations with Russia are essentially good, but what they lack is precisely the spirit of "cordiality" mentioned before. Minister Olechowski spoke not only against isolating Russia, and he also said he could not imagine Poland being part of some kind of "sanitary cordon." That vision must not be allowed to come true, at any cost. Poland is also interested in developing good relations with Ukraine and Belarus. Only nationalist forces in Lithuania could prevent a treaty from being signed between that country and Poland. Our relations with Russia and Germany should be at least as good as those between the two countries themselves. The new foreign minister has a positive attitude on the issue of regional cooperation and initiatives. He described the concordat with the Vatican as a factor bringing Poland (at times symbolically, at other times in concrete ways) closer to the Western system.

Minister Olechowski is eager for Foreign Ministry staff to be of a nonparty nature. He is not planning any radical personnel changes in the ministry.

Olechowski Holds Talks With U.S. Official

LD1011224793 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 10—Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski on Wedensday met with Stephen Oxman, director for Europe and Canada at the U.S. State Department to discuss the U.S. proposal of "partnership for peace" between NATO and Poland and Polish-U.S. relations.

"In part, the meeting was devoted consultations of the partnership for peace programme, which is being prepared as one of the decisions which may be made during a NATO summit in January," Andrzej Towpik of the Foreign Ministry said.

The Polish side received the programme as "constructive", although Olechowski stressed that NATO membership is one of Poland's strategic goals, while "partnership for peace" is rather yet another step in the alliances opening to new members.

"We have the impression that the programme has been already accepted by all NATO members," Towpik added.

Olechowski and Oxman also discussed the current situation in Poland. Oxman assured Minister Olechowski of the U.S. readiness to mintain good relations with the Polish Government.

Also Polish National Defence minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk met with Stephen Oxman to discuss chances for implementing the idea of "partnership for peace" and specific questions of Poland's commitment to the programme.

Oxman said he was satisfied the new Polish Government would continue military reforms and confirmed desire to tighten cooperation in this area. Kolodziejczyk said the meeting was an important step to build the system of security and international cooperation, according to the ministry's communique.

This is the first high-level visit paid to by a U.S. envoy to Poland since the September parliamentary elections and the formation of the Waldemar Pawlak government.

Sejm, Government Set Principles of Cooperation

AU1111163893 Warsaw PAP in English 1632 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—Members of the presidium of the Sejm (lower house), headed by Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy, and members of the government, headed by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, met on Wednesday [10 November] to discuss future cooperation between the two bodies as well as the order in which the chamber is to review draft laws.

Oleksy said after the meeting that the Sejm has received 49 draft laws, including 34 submitted by the government. As many as 14 of them were termed as urgent.

The Sejm has also received a dozen or so important reports prepared by the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK) and over twenty decisions of the Constitutional Tribunal. Oleksy said that the chamber would probably have to hold its plenary meeting every week to deal with such large number of issues.

"We spoke about such principles of cooperation between the government and the Sejm presidium which, maintaining the autonomy of both organs, would permit to avoid conflicts and delays," the speaker said.

The overriding principle of this cooperation is to be the will of efficient law-making and coordination of the government's legislative plans with the course of parliamentary work, Oleksy said.

Pawlak, Borowski Hold News Conference

WS1211133193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Malgorzata Subotic: "Confidence Vote for New Cabinet; Prime Minister Counts On Four Years"]

[Text] The government of Waldemar Pawlak was supported with 310 votes. 83 deputies were against, and 24 abstained. There were no surprises on Wednesday [10 November] in the Sejm. At a news conference, held shortly after the Sejm had passed a confidence vote for the government, the prime minister said that the most important tasks were preparing the state's budget and defining the strategy for the next four years.

Asked whether this meant that he would be prime minister for such a period of time, he answered: "Yes, I am positive." Deputy Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz added: "At least four years."

At the first news conference, which was held right after the Sejm had passed the confidence vote for the new cabinet, the prime minister stated that he will favor openness toward and cooperation with journalists. He also gave assurances that members of the Council of Ministers will be at the journalists' disposal to explain the decisions that they will be making.

The prime minister seemed to imply that he was predicting some organizational changes in the Office of the Council of Ministers, so that "the administration will function more smoothly and more efficiently." He did not reveal any concrete information. Most probably he meant, among other things, combining the Social Committee of the Council of Ministers and the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers. This would be a return to the model that was favored when Leszek Balcerowicz was a deputy prime minister (in the governments of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Tadeusz Mazowiecki).

Even though almost all the ministers in the Pawlak government took part in the conference (with the exception of Minister of National Defense Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrzej Olechowski) questions were addressed only to two persons: Prime Minister Pawlak and Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister for economic affairs. The latter, when asked about who will cover the increased expenditures of the budget, said simply: "those who have money."

According to Marek Borowski, the statement by Jozef Zych (Polish Peasant Party—PSL), made during the debate on the prime minister's official speech, on the necessity of renegotiating the agreements with the European Economic Community "is a stand taken by one of the coalition members." The deputy prime minister said that the government will ask the presidium to defer discussing the deputies' bill on "popiwek" [tax on excessive wage increases] until the Council of Ministers presents its program.

The Pawlak government does not want to deal with file checking, nor is it going to establish a committee that would investigate the activities of the Suchocka government, because each of the ministers can do this on his own in his ministry. The proposal for establishing such a committee was submitted by PSL deputies. The prime minister informed that the issue of the Concordat was not handled in the coalition agreement with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. It was an answer to the question of a possible renegotiation of this agreement.

"Poland lost too much throughout its history by looking at people from the political point of view. Systems, parties, and politicians are all transitory things; the thing that remains is what was successfully built." This is how Prime Minister Pawlak commented on the statement by SLD Leader Aleksander Kwasniewski, who, during the debate, apologized for the Polish People's Republic.

Also on Wednesday there was a meeting between the leadership of the Sejm and that of the government. Speaker Jozef Oleksy and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak agreed that in the leadership of each ministry there will be one person cooperating indirectly with the parliament.

Speaker Oleksy stated after the meeting that there are 49 bills before the Sejm, including 34 bills prepared by the government. The government treated 14 of them as

urgent. Also over a dozen serious reports of the Supreme Chamber of Control and more than 20 statements of the Constitutional Tribunal are waiting to be examined. The Sejm will have to work every week, the speaker believes.

Pawlak on Cabinet, PSL, Kwasniewski, Church

WS1211101593 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, by Andrzej Woyciechowski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] Radio Zet's guest today is Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. Good morning to you.

[Pawlak] Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen.

[Woyciechowski] Did the Polonez cars' engines start off all right this morning, with the frost and snow?

[Pawlak] Yes, they did. No problem today.

[Woyciechowski] And is it true what I have heard in terms of rumors or gossip, that there were problems with some of the Polonez cars while leaving the Opera House last night?

[Pawlak] No, that is just gossip. It so happens that there were no problems with those particular vehicles.

[Woyciechowski] You keep insisting on using a Polonez?

[Pawlak] Yes, and I think that even though it may be viewed as merely a symbolic gesture, certainly when one moves around Warsaw, within such short distances, a Polonez is really enough. Naturally, we use different kinds of automobiles, but I really think that a car like Polonez is really enough for day-to-day business.

[Woyciechowski] Are you satisfied with your government? Could it be better than it is now? Is the government more of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], or of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]? What should this government be called at all? What kind of a government is it?

[Pawlak] It is a coalition kind of government, and I think that of course one could possibly imagine more efficient structures, but under the situation we were in, I think the government is ultimately quite a good solution.

[Woyciechowski] How do you get along with SLD, and with Kwasniewski?

[Pawlak] As far as my colleagues are concerned who are ministers and SLD members, we are all in the same boat, they have the same kinds of problems as us, and they are equally eager to see the whole undertaking succeed. The same applies to Mr. Kwasniewski.

[Woyciechowski] Is Kwasniewski a good partner? Are there differences of opinion between you two? Do you have to argue, or is there good communication between you two?

[Pawlak] Sure there are differences. Naturally, we do not have to argue. Sometimes there are tough conversations, but as one can see, we are managing somehow.

[Woyciechowski] Some of the newspapers sometimes describe Kwasniewski—I am sure you have seen the same headlines as myself—as a prime minister without portfolio. How do you explain that? Is he really a prime minister without portfolio?

[Pawlak] I do not know. It is not a problem for me. If anything, let him worry about it. I do not think it is a problem at all. In terms of the measures we are charged with, everybody does his own job. It so happens that Mr. Kwasniewski is more involved in the Sejm's business, and one has to appreciate that, as well.

[Woyciechowski] What will you do for your own electorate—to put it the simplest way possible—for all those peasants, residents of the countryside who voted for PSL and Pawlak, expecting to get something out if it soon?

[Pawlak] To put it the simplest way possible, I can say this: We will concentrate on creating a stable agricultural policy. It is worth remembering that the European Community's [EC] first own, common policy was precisely about agriculture, which remains the biggest part of EC's budget to this day. As we can see, the whole EC benefited from that strategy, and now they can proceed to later stages. It is worth keeping those experiences in mind. It is not only about budget expenditures, but also about mobilizing the economy because it means getting the whole consumer market in the countryside moving again. That market also consumes many products produced in various industrial factories.

[Woyciechowski] What do you mean by a stable agricultural policy? Does it mean closing the borders, creating customs barriers, and agricultural subsidies?

[Pawlak] By a stable policy, I mean one where you can predict what will be happening in a year, five, or 10 years. Often, the investment cycle in agriculture extends to a few years, or even to between 10 and 20 years. Therefore, we need the kinds of measures and solutions that would assure that if a farmer, entrepreneur, or processor invests in a technological venture, then he would have the opportunity to pay back the credit and be successful in the market. In a situation of an ever-changing economic situation, for example, three times a year, even if one is the best astrologist around, that is not going to help. We are faced with problems like that now, with people who have believed in statements made in the past, that the agricultural and food processing industry will be supported. The following year, there was a regression for them because the declarations were canceled. I think a stable policy applies both to agriculture, and to the whole environment surrounding it. First of all,

what needs to be done is to create the kinds of conditions which would take into account the uniqueness of that production sector, that is to say a lower rate of capital turnover.

[Woyciechowski] Everybody expected agricultural policy, or some radical decisions concerning the countryside, to be the area of your first decisions, something you would begin changing immediately. Will such decisions be made over the next few days?

[Pawlak] I am sure we will be taking immediate measures, as well. But the problem is that such immediate measures can improve the situation only to some extent. Such measures are implementable—linked both to the domestic market, and to some measures associated with improvements in the functioning of the customs services. There are also measures like, for instance, those which have been submitted before the Sejm, I mean statutes on supplementary payments—these are already applied by the European Union—and we also presented a draft of our proposal for negotiations in the Uruguay Round the day before yesterday. There are a lot of parameters discussed there, concerning the agricultural market, and also other economic areas.

[Woyciechowski] Is your government one of continuation of previous policies, or one of a breakthrough? Part of the opposition says that your government practically continues the previous government's policies.

[Pawlak] The problem is that the same people on the one hand accuse us of a continuation, but on the other hand, they also accuse us of lack of continuation. I would say we should rather concentrate on the results of our actions, and on the problems which we have to solve. Getting philosophical or ideological is not enough to improve the situation in the country.

[Woyciechowski] Today, after being in office for 19 days, you have a sense of the country's situation. You are aware of the country's condition inherited from the previous team. Is the condition good, bad, very good, or disastrous?

[Pawlak] The condition is very complicated and often very difficult, but it so happens that we specialize in problems, and I think the society is not really interested in our problems, but in what we can do to solve them. How we will solve all this—that is our problem. The situation is certainly not as good as suggested by some descriptions [by Suchocka's government]. In any event, if the country's situation had really been so good, I think the election results would have been completely different.

[Woyciechowski] What kind of an opposition is the Democratic Union [UD]? Are they malicious, and overcritical of the government? Did you take that kind of position by UD into account, or did you count on a different kind of position?

[Pawlak] One could have expected UD to be a tough kind of opposition. I think that kind of attitude makes it possible to prevent many mistakes, because all the mistakes or deficiencies by the government are immediately noticed. Plus, the fact that many of the UD deputies were in the previous government, makes them prepared to notice many issues quickly, which are half-baked ideas. I think that tends to be beneficial for the whole arrangement.

[Woyciechowski] You are talking about all this with a tremendous calm. One has the impression that you are a great optimist. Do you believe that everything will be all right, that you will succeed?

[Pawlak] I think that if I did not believe that, I would simply never have undertaken this job at all.

[Woyciechowski] Part of the opposition press—if one can use that term with regard to Polish press—writes more and more often about PSL—that there are some conflicts or differences within PSL, and that perhaps PSL will lose its leader now. Is there a danger of such conflicts and differences of views?

[Pawlak] I do not think there are any significant conflicts going on. Naturally, there are always differences of opinions, but they happen to allow us to avoid extreme situations or making mistakes. There has always been a variety and different circles represented in PSL, and we managed to turn that into an asset. Within our routine activity, we try to make our decisions in a such a way that they take into account different viewpoints, but I think this crisis has been applicable not only to PSL in the time after the elections—it also applies to many other political parties, where one can see even more dramatic [word indistinct].

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Are you now talking about SLD or the right wing?

[Pawlak] I am thinking about all of them because this is a considerable breakthrough in the processes that have been going on in Poland so far. I think that probably no one expected such an unambiguous election result and such a configuration in the parliament. The entire situation, or the election results, in a sense, showed what the solution should be. Thus, later on, any attempts to find some solutions that would not touch the core of things would simply not have been very likely.

[Woyciechowski] Do you know that yesterday a demonstration of the center right took place in Warsaw? One of the slogans that was on the posters and that was shouted out by the demonstrators was the following: Pawlak Go Work With Muck. Do you know about that?

[Pawlak] Yes, Yes, I do know about that and....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Your employees are quite efficient, then....

[Pawlak, interrupting] No, it is not that. I can only be grateful to journalists for supplying such full information. This would mean that certain old models are coming back and I think that we would not support a democracy in which we would put forward such arguments. I think that in this particular case our history was slighted; those who say such things forget that Poland is rich in various cultures. It is this richness of cultures that may offer us a chance for a better future, provided that we can take advantage of it and that the will of cooperation turns out to be stronger than the will of dominating and subordinating people.

[Woyciechowski] A while ago you referred to journalists. You said that the press is the source of a lot of information for you. However, you, or PSL in general, is sometimes said to dislike journalists. Do you not like journalists?

[Pawlak] I have never made such a statement and I will always highly value such cooperation, even though it is sometimes rather difficult, which is no secret. However, it is a democratic state: the press is not very mild or delicate, or very superficial; it is very inquiring, digs deep into things, and it is also sometimes very sharp in its commentaries and evaluations. However, this makes the authorities remember that they should not lock themselves up in their offices and forget that the world is a little bit bigger than the configurations in the cabinet and the parliament.

[Woyciechowski] Let us return for a while to the Sejm and to the configuration of forces in today's Sejm. Do you think that the present PSL-SLD coalition should be enriched and broadened? Does the government need this?

[Pawlak] This possibility cannot be ruled out. I believe that if we sought a solution that would let us use the right moment in history, when others deal with themselves while we stand a good chance of placing our country in a high position among other European states, then I think that we would really need it.

[Woyciechowski] If you were to broaden the coalition, which party would you be more likely to admit: the UD, the Labor Union, or the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms?

[Pawlak] Right now it is difficult to make definite statements. If we look at the declarations that were made during the debate, then it is relatively easy to try to say which parties might be admitted. However, I think that if we could disregard the current temporary tensions and look for a few problems that we could tackle together, especially because the configuration in the parliament allows for such a solution, then there might be various areas of cooperation. Irrespective of the stance that was taken in the voting, we can see the possibility of cooperation with various political parties in concrete fields. Here, apart from the parliamentary configuration, it is also important to go beyond the political configuration and come closer to various circles, such as trade unions, employers' circles, all kinds of organizations and associations. I think that right now we have quite a few problems and in recent years we have not really taken good advantage of all the experiences, skills, and the people who know our Polish reality and know how to find good solutions.

[Woyciechowski] Is the Pawlak government a leftist cabinet? What should we call it?

[Pawlak] Well, we can call it what we like. I think that this does not disrupt our functioning. This depends on who is in which place. If someone listened carefully to the debate on the official speech in the Sejm, he could hear both accusations that we are leftist and accusations that we are too liberal and too monetarist. Thus, the truth lies somewhere in the middle and it will depend on what particular issues we discuss.

[Woyciechowski] Then, you are not afraid of any labels? You are not afraid of this word leftist?

[Pawlak] I think that some people may find it easier to compartmentalize things in their own heads in such a way. However, such words cannot change the reality. Thus, here the evaluation depends not on people who are interested in labels or the wrapping, but simply in the quality of the commodity. One may once or twice be misled by the label; however, in the long run, what is most important is how the government or the political configuration will function.

[Woyciechowski] Is it true that in recent months PSL has become popular in the Polish church? Is it true that you hold regular meetings with the primate, cardinals, and bishops?

[Pawlak] Well, maybe these are not regular meetings, as you have called them. However, I think that our relations with the church are quite warm and I do not think that this is because of the election result or the period before the elections. We wanted to develop these relations, so that certain matters could be discussed seriously in various circles and in various milieus. These processes started back in 1991, when particularly Mr. Piatkowski made a great contribution to PSL's program and the party's cooperation. There are also other colleagues who are very efficient in this area, such as Franciszek Stefaniuk.

[Woyciechowski] Let us talk about PSL for a while again. Are you going to be the leader of the party and the prime minister at the same time?

[Pawlak] Fortunately, in PSL the structure of power consists of two levels. Apart from the president, we also have the chairman of the Chief Council, who is now Jozef Zych. Thus there is not a problem of rocking the stability of the structure of powers.

[Woyciechowski] Now, let us talk for a moment about the church, about Zych, and about you. It seemed to some political observers that there were some differences in your speeches: when you were speaking about the

Concordat, your presentation of the issue differed a little bit from the way it was presented by Mr. Zych. Why is that?

[Pawlak] It was because I presented the stand of the government. Mr. Zych was not bound by that and made a statement on behalf of PSL. I think that these issues were not discussed by the entire coalition and therefore, we are free to make a decision in this area. Apart from that, probably the parliament, not the government, will have more influence on the entire affair.

[Woyciechowski] Is it possible that there may arise controversies between the two government coalition parties when it comes to voting on the Concordat?

[Pawlak] I do not think that this issue was discussed in the coalition agreement and that this area should be approached from the political point of view. These are matters that everyone decides in his own conscience and we should seek solutions that would respect this individual choice; we should not look for solutions that would satisfy the ambition of this or that side.

[Woyciechowski] The last question concerns the coalition agreement that you have just alluded to. Is it true that there exists a secret pact between PSL and SLD, a secret document that you have signed with Pawlak? This is what part of the opposition press is claiming.

[Pawlak] Well, I have not signed any agreement with Pawlak....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] I am sorry. With Kwasniewski, of course.

[Pawlak] I must say that it is the first time that I have heard about such a secret pact.

[Woyciechowski] That means that you are completely denying this information? You have not signed any document that only you and Kwasniewski are keeping in your safes?

[Pawlak] Well, not that I know of. Perhaps there have been some secret arrangements. However, they certainly do not concern any agreements between both of us.

[Woyciechowski] Thank you, prime minister, for the interview.

[Pawlak] Thank you.

Melescanu Meets With Slovene Foreign Minister

AU1211070793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1806 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1993—"Romania and Slovenia will sign four or five cooperation agreements in the next two months, and the foreign ministers have been scheduled to meet officially early next year," said Lojze Peterle, head of the Slovene diplomacy, on an unofficial visit in Romania now, after an interview with his Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu. Peterle, who has come for the seminar organised by the European Christian-Democratic Union (CDU), has been satisfied with the exchange of views he had with Melescanu. "We have discussed about current events and political subjects and their prospects," said the guest.

Issues were also tackled related to the bilateral legal framework and Slovenia's diplomatic representation in Romania.

"European security matters, regarding NATO, CSCE, the crisis in former Yugoslavia were approached in the first place, as well as the Central-European initiative, the relations of the two countries with the European Union and EFTA," specified Foreign Ministry Spokesman Mircea Geoana.

Melescanu, Greek Foreign Minister Discuss Ties

AU1211122393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Before his meeting at Cotroceni Palace [presidency seat], Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias conducted official talks at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Teodor Melescanu.

Mr. Karolos Papoulias wanted to present the interest that the new PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] government has in the privileged relations with Romania. The Balkan problems are an absolute priority of that government. Proof of this interest is the visit by the chief of Greek diplomacy to this area.

According to our reporter, Doina Saiciuc, a major part of the talks with the Romanian foreign minister was dedicated to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the conflict in the former Yugoslav area.

Mr. Papoulias briefed his Romanian counterpart on the results of the contacts that he had had in the past days with [Serbian] President Milosevic and [Croatian] President Tudjman. The Greek foreign minister is optimistic about examining opportunities to achieve a political and rapid solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mircea Geoana, said at the end of the talks. He also added that another subject of the talks was the prospect of Greece taking over the presidency of the European Union beginning 1 January for a six-month term.

In this respect, the Greek foreign minister presented Greece's priorities, as a country that will ensure the Presidency of the Community.

The Romanian side noted with satisfaction that these priorities also include the development—at the infrastructure level—of communications, port facilities, and, in general, of a specific, coordinated, and energetic plan for the Balkan area.

The talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs demonstrated that another priority of the Greek Presidency of the European Union will be the problem of solving the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Spiroiu Calls Visit to Slovakia 'Very Important'

AU1111212893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1424 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1993—Romanian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu said in an interview that his recent visit in Slovakia was "very important, especially because it was the first contact at governmental level after the friendship treaty's signing by the two heads of state."

The Romanian defense minister expressed his "special satisfaction" at "the identical outlooks regarding the security of our countries in their zone, the sub-zonal and the European security." He was also glad to see that the "Slovak Army, now in a shaping process, and the Romanian Army have many complementary fields." The Romanian defense minister referred in the context to the "cooperation in troops' training and in the field of military equipment."

Iliescu Greets Christian-Democratic Meeting

AU1111212793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1546 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1993—In a message addressed to the participants in the "Civic Society" international conference taking place in Bucharest at the initiative of the European Christian-Democratic Union, Romania's President Ion Iliescu said he perceived the conference attended by important political leaders and prestigious scientists as a sign of the appreciation enjoyed by the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party within the family of Christian-Democratic formations and as recognition of the efforts and progresses recorded by the Romanian society toward consolidated democracy and state of law.

The Romanian president expressed hope that debates in the conference as well as the exchange of political experience with respect to the inducement of citizens' initiative, to the status of ethnic minorities or to the requirements of the state of law, would contribute to outline ways capable to revigorate association and organising patterns.

Market Economy Discussed

AU1211071393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1993—An international symposium on the "Civil Society," held in Bucharest by the European Christian-Democratic Union, continued Thursday, November 11, with debates on the role and place of the civil society in the transition to a market economy.

Discussions in the first part of the proceedings, that had Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle as moderator, pointed to the necessity to create a space for the promotion of moral values, with the economic factor tending to have a leading place in the social life.

Talks in the second part focused on problems the transition to a market economy raise to budding democracies.

Danish Parliament Speaker Promises Support

AU1011115293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0900 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/11/1993—"Denmark fully understands Romania's difficulties and will always be on your country's, on the Romanian people's side," told a news conference in Bucharest on November 9 evening Henning Rasmussen, speaker of the Folketing, Denmark's parliament, who pays an official visit to Romania as head of a parliamentary delegation.

Rasmussen also expressed the hope that in a shortest possible period of time, when the situation, especially the economic one allows it, Denmark would be able to invite Romania to participate, as a full member, in the structures of the European Union, expressing his country's support in that respect.

Expressing satisfaction at his interviews in Bucharest, he assessed that, as far as the setting up of democratic institutions was concerned, Romania has reached a very advanced stage and stated that the delegation was sure that what had happened four years ago [the 1989 December revolution] would result in the building of a really democratic society.

Gorita, Dutch Foreign Official Discuss Ties

AU1011162993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1426 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/11/1993—Romanian Secretary of State of the Foreign Ministry Ion Gorita had a round of talks on Wednesday with the director of the European Affairs Directorate of the Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands, Herman Schaper.

Meeting the interest showed by the Dutch diplomat, the collocutors approached the situation in former Yugoslavia, the possibilities of settling the conflict in the zone as well as the prospects of Balkan cooperation. In the context, the necessity was underscored of re-starting negotiations for a solution to end the conflict.

The bilateral relations represented another subject of the talks as these relations at the inter-government level enjoy a state of normality, being still required a diversification and intensification of the relations at the level of non-governmental organizations, foundations, political parties and commercial companies.

Iliescu Sends Message to PDAR Congress

AU1211070293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1993—President Ion Iliescu addressed a message to the attendance of the conference of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR], saying that this party has made an important contribution to the shaping of Romania's political life, to the building of a climate of dialogue and cooperation, to the fortification of the state of law and of democratic institutions.

In Iliescu's opinion the PDAR is one of the country's modern parties, covering a wide social range, with the main support coming from farmers, from the countryside.

The message adds that it is important for today's political forces to diversify forms of dialogue, with a view to identify and solve the country's real problems, to speed up the structuring of the political life, in keeping with the requirements of national development and Romania's integration in contemporary structures.

Roman Views Admission to Council of Europe

AU1111164993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1051 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/11/1993—"I think Romania could no longer be kept outside the European structures as long as all political forces advocated our admission to full membership of the Council of Europe and the granting by the United States of the most favored nation status", says Petre Roman, president of the Defense, Public Order and National Security Commission of the Chamber of Deputies in an interview with the weekly PARLAMENTUL.

"Those were decisive arguments demonstrating that was the nation's political will, given that all political parties represented in the parliament—hence through a democratic expression—had the same opinion."

"Although", he went on, "we must not forget that the resolution whereby Romania is admitted to the Council of Europe contains very serious amendments. If there are some—irresponsible to a great extent—to take them easily and even a little spitefully", Roman said, "I am taking this opportunity as well to warn them that our commitment can only be a serious and responsible one. In the end, what is decisive and primordial is what is

happening in the country. So, the government policy should be far more dynamic than the current one, so as to avoid social tensions", Petre Roman opined.

Funar: Regime 'Undermining' Country's Potential

AU1011072093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] In the presence of Mr. Gheorghe Funar, president of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], an electoral meeting with the PUNR members and local supporters took place at the House of Culture of Rajnov town, on the eve of the mayoral elections scheduled to be held there next Sunday.

After referring to PUNR's overall political line, Mr. Funar accused the current regime of undermining the economic and human potential in our country. Among other things, he expressly mentioned the relations with the IMF and the World Bank.

On another subject, referring to the recent visit to Covasna and Harghita of the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Funar said that this unofficial event was given exaggerated coverage by the television. Our correspondent Mihai Secelean informs us that next Sunday's elections in Rajnov are due to the former mayor's dismissal.

PDAR, PUNR Plan 'National Unity Bloc' Alliance

AU1011171693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1431 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/11/1993—A topic of Romanian political life is the impending alliance between the Democratic Agrarian Party [PDAR] and the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]. According to PDAR President Victor Surdu, negotiations are in a final stage and the protocol of setting up the National Unity Bloc might be signed during the meeting of the PDAR National Coordination Council, due on November 11-12, in Bucharest.

The alliance, Surdu told daily CRONICA ROMANA, "pursues serious targets," and the name of National Unity Bloc—a center political bloc—was suggested by the PDAR.

PDAR spokesman Nicolae Dragos told RADOR news agency that the PDAR and PUNR opted for an alliance instead of merger, starting from an in-depth analysis of the current political moment, of the possibilities to achieve substantive collaboration as well as based on probing the opinions of the county branches. The conclusion reached was that "a collaboration with real chances of efficiency and durability upon the principles of a political alliance in which each political formation shall keep its identity, doctrine, own structures, yet cooperating and acting in consonance for the attainment of the targets of major interest for the country and for the people."

PDSR's Martian Discusses Ties With PUNR

AU0911211193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] The relations of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] with the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] and the continuing talks between the two political groupings on a corresponding participation in the governing process were referred to by Mr. Dan Martian, leader of the PDSR Parliamentary Group in the Chamber of Deputies, at a news conference held today in Bucharest.

Mr. Dan Martian emphasized that it is essential that the two parties should have similar attitudes toward certain principles, such as the government's strategy, the position on the IMF accord, and a democratic view on the issue of minorities. In this respect, Mr. Martian pointed out that the negotiations between the PUNR and the PDSR will also introduce new elements into the relations between the parties currently supporting the government.

At the end of the news conference, Messrs. Martian and Dumitru Paslaru [PDSR spokesman] referred to the labor action announced by the trade unions for 18 November and pointed out that negotiations between the government and the trade unions have led to a certain understanding and that those trade union confederations that are keen on starting a general strike must realize that their intentions may jeopardize the current situation in the economy.

Izetbegovic Considers Launching 'War of Liberation'

AU1011205993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] As part of his tour of the free territories, Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, together with his staff, today attended a session of the Tuzla regional assembly, at which proposals were put forward for the political future of our country. He also visited the university and held a news conference. Midhat Kulender reports.

[Kulender] There are two schools of thought: a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the expulsion of the aggressor from our country, or a second phase—a political struggle, with Bosnia-Herzegovina as a framework, and a Bosnian republic within it as the core and the guarantee of Bosnia-Herzegovina, since the drunkenness and deceptions in the politics of the so-called Serb republic and the so-called Herceg-Bosnia, those phantom states, has to pass, and the core of the Bosnian republic would then spread in quantity and quality throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The integration would come naturally, as those who destroyed the mosques and the bridges and killed innocent civilians have no prospects for the future. We are an army that the people will not fear and does not fear, unlike the enemy, who kills, burns, rapes, and destroys. Reasonable people would come to the fore, industry, the economy, trade, communications, and education would see a positive shift, and with our superior model Bosnia would win against the dark forces of the aggressor. A state does not exist for its own sake but for the people. This struggle is for our people. This was said by President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Those present expressed their full support for the Bosnia- Herzegovina Presidency and Government in future political directions and decisions. They stressed that the total political and military potential had still not been deployed in the struggle against the aggressor, that there was still the strength, the will, and wisdom in the war of liberation against the aggressor. Particular attention also had to be devoted to the question of survival, food, the enforcement of a legal state, the status of the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the fight against crime, and there was a demand too for the deployment of European observers along the border with the so-called Yugoslavia.

President Izetbegovic visited Tuzla University and the rector, Dr. Sadik Latifagic, stressed that all the potential was engaged in the forces of our army, in its struggle against the aggressor.

At the press conference, asked by reporters about the current military situation, President Izetbegovic said: The military situation for us is currently satisfactory. We are thinking of switching from a defensive war into a war of liberation, and liberate the occupied territories. We have been looking for a peaceful, political solution. We are waiting for that solution. However, if it does not come, we will have no choice.

The other question concerned the arms embargo, as this measure works only against Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we know very well why that embargo is still in force. If we had had the weapons and the ammunition, we would have won. That is why they would not let the embargo be lifted. Why? That is a long story. I have toured units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and it is a real army. We are trying to get our army to behave according to all the international military rules, and it is doing so. I can say with pride that not a single church has been destroyed, we do not kill women and children, and we abide by the rules. We have a large number of soldiers who are motivated to fight fiercely, while the enemy army is morally burdened by murders, rapes, destruction, and genocide. This is what President Alija Izetbegovic said.

Ganic Hints at 'New Methods' Against Serbs

LD1011222793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Commenting on yesterday's [9 November] and today's massacre of children in Sarajevo, Egup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, among other things, said:

These perfidious and collective murders show that the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor is using all means at his disposal to commit crimes. Every fresh assault against the Bosnian nation proves that his final objective is to destroy civilization and wipe out all democratic and humanistic values.

The repetitious and cold-blooded massacres of innocent children and civilians are obliging the heroic Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to adopt new methods in their struggle against the aggressor, which will force him to refrain from committing such unprecedented acts of terror against innocent people, Presidency member Ejup Ganic stresses in his statement.

Herceg-Bosna President Appoints New Ministers

LD1011202893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] The names of new members of the government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna have been revealed today. Mate Boban, president of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, appointed Jadranko Prlic prime minister. At the prime minister's proposal, he appointed other government members: Jozo Martinovic as deputy prime minister and finance minister; Perica Jukic as deputy prime minister and defense minister; Ivan Culjak as deputy prime minister; Valentin Coric as interior minister; Kresimir Zubak as minister of justice and administration; Ilija Kozulj as minister of transport and communications; Vlado Soljic as minister for

energy, mining, and industry; Ilija Krezo as minister of trade, tourism, and entrepreneurship; Marko Boznavic as minister of agriculture, forestry, and water management; Ivan Bagaric as minister of health; Zulfo Robovic as minister of reconstruction and development; Ilija Zuljevic as minister of labor and social security; Jozo Maric as minister of education, science, culture, and sport; Mile Akmadzic as minister for interrepublican cooperation and foreign affairs. These appointments have been sent to the Chamber of Deputies of the Assembly of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, that will pass a decision on them.

On the basis of a decision by the political leadership of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, Mile Akmadzic, Andjelko Vuletic, Bozo Rajic, Ivan Culjak, Ivo Zivkovic, Bozidar Sicel, Branimir Huterer, Ivo Komsic, Nikola Antunovic, Franjo Bratic, Stjepan Pranjic, and Ivica Gabelic will be the Croat political representatives from the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna in the Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their task is the protection of the Croats' overall interests and rights in the Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the strengthening of relations between the Croats in the [Croat] republic, and other parts of the union. [passage omitted]

Presidency Member Views Croats' Position in Bosnia

AU1111180693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Nada Rajkovic report on news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Stjepan Kljuic in Sarajevo on 11 November—recorded]

[Text] [Rajkovic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Stjepan Kljuic stressed that our city and the entire state continue to be exposed to fierce aggression and that the international community still has not come up with efficient measures to halt this aggression. He also said that currently one of the greatest problems was the issue of Croatian enclaves in central Bosnia and added:

[Kljuic] Those of us who are part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency have at all costs stopped further operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army against these enclaves. This is our care for the people, but also an expression of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's good will. Of course, the situation of Croatian enclaves in central Bosnia is a consequence of certain other moves, which have been made by those who claim they are speaking in the name of the Croatian people.

Since not a single one of the agreements reached in the past has yielded any results, and the Tudjman-Izetbegovic agreement was not even implemented, we are regarding tomorrow's visit by Foreign Minister Mate Granic from Zagreb as perhaps the last chance for peacefully solving certain key issues. Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin—who is due in Sarajevo tomorrow—figures as a factor who wishes to help with the implementation of the Tudjman- Izetbegovic agreement.

Tomorrow might be D-Day for the Bosnian Croats, because if we do not receive guarantees that all fighting will be suspended, that convoys will be allowed to pass through, and that a normal flow of food, electricity, gas, and water will be restored, then we—the Bosnian Croats—will tomorrow be completely sure that we have to take charge of our future ourselves.

[Rajkovic] The Croats in Sarajevo are just as threatened by the aggressor's bullets and grenades as the other citizens, and by the lack of food, gas, electricity, and water. We shall demand that the international community takes charge of securing electricity, water, and gas, which is today again scarce in Sarajevo. If they cannot do this, we shall demand that gas be cut off for everybody, stressed Kljuic. Kljuic also commented on the transformation of the King Tvrtko Brigade.

[Kljuic] If there have been some slipups in this transformation, we will order an investigation, and we shall punish those responsible for making mistakes. The tactic was wrong insofar as the transformation was initiated on the same day as the fight against the individuals in this action for which there are indications that they had engaged in criminal activities. Of course, the overwhelming majority of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] troops are honorably committed to patriotism and have made a great contribution to the defense of this city and republic. Those that engaged in other activities have to answer for this like all other citizens.

[Rajkovic] In response to a reporter's question as to what kind of guarantees would be demanded tomorrow from Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, Kljuic said that they primarily wish to stop what has already happened in certain places, particularly in Vares, and added:

[Kljuic] They came from the Kiseljak HVO, they removed the HVO local command, they committed a massacre in Stupni Do, and then they forced the people to flee before the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. They ferried the people over Serbian territories, and since there is no more space for refugees in Kiseljak, the people were left in the streets. We have statements by people in Kiseljak who say that the Army had not even reached the town before they embarked on their way. That night Mr. Komsic stopped the Army from entering Vares. The Bosnian Croats simply must have their say, because so far, not a single Bosnian Croat was part of either the Geneva or the London negotiations. I do not think that they should not talk to Zagreb, but if someone insists on making moves the consequences of which are borne solely by the Bosnian Croats, then we can no longer put up with this.

[Rajkovic] In answer to a question as to whether sanctions would be demanded for Croatia if tomorrow's talks do not yield any results, Stjepan Kljuic said:

[Kljuic] For me it is much harder to bear the fact that we in Bosnia are bearing the consequences of things which are being done in Herzegovina, than the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina would demand sanctions for Croatia. The destruction of the old bridge [in Mostar] is one such action which was supposed to make the position of Croats in Bosnia more difficult, and to elicit indignation on the part of the Muslim and Serbian people. The bridge belonged to us too. We have experienced this as losing a limb. We indignantly denounce the people who did this. They cannot be representatives of the Croatian people, they are the black sheep of the Croatian people. If the sanctions were to be imposed on the politicians who are conducting this policy, I would hail this wholeheartedly, but I know that the Croatian people could not last more than three months under sanctions. Therefore, we hope that the current in Croatia will prevail which realizes that what has been done so far has been primarily to the disadvantage of the Croatian people in general, and the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We believe that someone in Croatia will realize this.

Krajisnik Rules Out Ceding More Land to Muslims

LD1011224693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Jagodina, Yugoslavia, Nov 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Parliamentary Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik on Wednesday ruled out any possibility of Bosnian Serbs ceding more territory to the Moslems and described the French-German initiative for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina as another political trick of the West.

The initiative for gradually lifting sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) if Bosnian Serbs cede three percent of the territory they control to Bosnian Moslems will be examined at a special ministerial meeting of the European Union in Luxembourg on November 22.

The Moslems have turned down an internationally drawn peace plan envisaging Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of three ethnic mini-states and containing territorial concessions of the Bosnian Serbs and Croats, and demanded more territory.

The French-German initiative is a big political trick which is clearly aimed at sowing discontent among the Serbs in Serbia and Montenegro and the Serbs in the Bosnian Serb Republic, and blaming [word indistinct] a further application of sanctions against their brothers in Yugoslavia, Krajisnik told the local radio in Jagodina.

TANJUG Views French-German Peace Initiative

LD1011223693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 10 Nov 93

["Pool" item—By Borislav Lalic]

[Text] Belgrade, November 10 (TANJUG)—Although an initiative launched by France and Germany for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina calls for smaller territorial concessions than any of the similar proposals made by the West so far, the project could easily prove to be the most successful of all.

Such an assessment is based on first reactions by European politicians and media, and the receptive tones voiced by Bosnian Serb officials and Belgrade. Another encouraging sign has come from Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, who currently presides over the European Union Ministerial Council, who said he hoped there would be no difficulty for the initiative to be approved at a special meeting of the Twelve scheduled for November 22.

The latest peace initiative for Bosnia-Herzegovina was launched last week in Brussels by the foreign ministers of France and Germany, Alain Juppe and Klaus Kinkel. Since an internationally mediated peace plan for Bosnia was rejected by the Moslems who demanded an additional three percent of territory, Juppe and Kinkel proposed that Bosnian Serbs cede "the disputed three percent" of their territory to the Moslems in return for their signature on a peace agreement, for which the Serbs would be compensated by a gradual lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

International analysts argue that the initiative may produce good results, but there are many elements pointing to the fact that the Moslems had quite different motives for refusing to sign the peace agreement than the disputed three percent.

Even with this argument in consideration, the initiative would not lose much in importance because this is the first time that the West has gone past threats to Bosnian Serbs and Belgrade and at least offered them something and because the initiative is co- authored by Germany which has been far from yielding so far. This is also the first serious move of the West announcing concrete prospects for lifting sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The question often heard in Europe these days is what will Washington say to all this. Those who argue that the Juppe-Kinkel plan gives too many concessions to the "Serb conquerors" forecast that the U.S. will simply not approve it.

If the plan is accepted by the European Union, as it will probably be, Washington will not be able to ignore it. Europe and the U.S. could also find the Brussels initiative to be in their common interest, helping them to get rid of the "Bosnian problem".

The plan would also help avoid a possible Western military intervention in former Yugoslavia which military and political analysts on both sides of the Atlantic say should be ruled out because it is bound to have disastrous consequences.

The coming weeks will show whether the Brussels initiative stands chance of succeeding. The outcome largely depends on Bosnian Moslems who will this time have to say whether they reject the peace offer because of the three percent of territory or some other reasons. In making the decision, they will have to bear in mind that the Western support to their military option is withering away.

Commentary Notes 'Doubts' Over Bonn-Paris Proposal

AU1011191493 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 93 p 7

[Nikola Trklja commentary: "Three Percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina Is Too Little for Izetbegovic's Appetite"]

[Text] France and Germany have asked their European partners to consider the possibility of alleviating the sanctions against Yugoslavia if it persuades the Bosnian Serbs to give some more territory to the Muslims. Although it is still officially uncertain what territories these would be, there is word that the Serbs should give up about 3 percent more of the territory of the former Bosnia- Herzegovina.

This sudden proposal for the possible alleviating of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, conditioned by new concessions that the Serb republic would have to make, reopens some old dilemmas and doubts regarding the ultimate interest of the Western powers in this region.

For two months now, ever since the Muslims rejected the peace plan, the international community has been toying with the idea of the so-called global approach to solve the Yugoslav crisis. According to this approach—which was first launched by Lord Carrington in The Hague—the conflict in the former Yugoslavia would be solved in a package for all the newly-formed states of the old federation. It also signalled the end of individual peace efforts and plans such as those offered for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Double Standards of the International Community [subhead]

Resolution 820, which drastically tightened the sanctions against Yugoslavia, made it clear—and even said as much—that the Security Council was punishing Yugoslavia in case the Serbs did not sign the Vance and Owen plan. That plan later failed, but a new one was made and subsequently accepted by the Serbs. However, this initiative by international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg failed as well since the Muslims did not want to accept it. On the other hand, the sanctions remained in force, and a warning was even issued—basically from the United States—that new conditions would be set to the Serbs, that is, the Yugoslav side for their alleviation or lifting.

Although it was clear even before this that the sanctions did not only depend on peace in Bosnia, Yugoslavia reacted officially to this one. Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, and later Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, stated that our country would not appear at any peace conference intended to solve the former Yugoslavia "globally" until the sanctions are lifted. As Milosevic put it, it is completely meaningless to hold negotiations if one of the sides is in an unfavorable and unequal position, that is, under international sanctions.

That must have prompted the officials in the European Union to give up once again on the "global approach" and offer a new solution, similar to the previous ones, which "placed the carrot in front of the stick."

The game surrounding the conditions for the lifting of the sanctions can be explained by the very essence of the proposal to alleviate the sanctions if the Serbs give away 3 percent of the territory. First of all, Yugoslavia is again accused of involvement in the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, that it is the crucial factor that decides when that war will end. The events on the ground over the last six months alone completely contradict this. The main battles are fought between the Croats and the Muslims, while the Serb side is mostly just an observer.

The next fact is the behavior of the Muslim authorities, that is, the policy conducted by Alija Izetbegovic. When it seemed, according to some estimates, that peace was at hand in Bosnia, Izetbegovic broke the agreement and continued his old practice.

In Geneva, when all that was needed was a signature on the peace packet, on the last day Izetbegovic came out in front of the Serb and Croat sides with five more demands. Not wishing the peace talks to fail, Karadzic and Boban gave in and the Muslims were given concessions around Brcko, Stolac, Gorazde, and some other places.

Back to the Beginning [subhead]

However, several days later the Muslims demanded access to the sea. That demand was met after great arguments between the Bosnian Croats and their Zagreb headquarters. The Muslims got access to the sea, instead of Neum they got Celjevo, but also the possibility to use a part of the Ploce port for 99 years. On the British ship The Invincible, the Serb side then offered their concessions by expanding the "pocket" around Gorazde, and the corridor between Gorazde and Zepa.

Finally, the Muslims, who now control 10 percent of the territory, would have gotten at the negotiating table another 20 percent that is now controlled by the Serbs, that is, the Croats. However, that was still not enough. The Muslim assembly rejected the peace plan with the demand that "all the occupied territories had to be returned."

Alija Izetbegovic also set new territorial demands in front of the United Nations: "The aggressor must leave all the territories taken by force." Prior to this, the Muslims demanded from the Serbs a part of Bosanska Krupa, most of Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi], Prijedor,

Sanski Most, Kljuc, part of Foca, part of Gorazde, the left bank of the Drina River, most of Visegrad, part of Bratunac, and a large part of eastern Bosnia.

There are signals coming from Europe that the Serbs should give back 3 percent of the territory. This proposal, to judge by the previous reactions of the Muslims, does not even begin to satisfy their appetites. That is why it is logical to ask why Europe is going back to the beginning and throwing Yugoslavia into a new diplomatic battle with deja vu consequences.

Karadzic Views German, U.S. Diplomatic 'Game'

AU1011182193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, place not given, by Radovan Colovic in Belgrade on 10 November—live]

[Text] [Colovic] Good evening.

[Karadzic] Good evening.

[Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, I wish you a good evening; we are discussing the reactions to the Franco-German initiative for solving the issue of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. You gave an interview in which you expressed willingness to review the possibility of territorial concessions to the Muslims, but you did not provide any details. Therefore, I would like you to do so now.

[Karadzic] I am sorry that I am not entirely aware of the reaction of the U.S. establishment, but I am under the impression that this is in fact a very devious game on the part of German diplomacy with the goal of clearing itself and having someone else block this initiative. As far as their demand for 3 percent [of the territory] is concerned, we can give as much as 4 percent, provided that we get Sarajevo, for example. However, the quantity of territory without considering the quality of the territory does not mean anything. We were expected—Serbs and Croats together—to come up with 30 percent of the territory of the former Bosnia- Herzegovina for the Muslim state. We in fact achieved this, but some time later, another 3 percent was demanded, and that is truly a completely relative issue. We believe that as long as it does not matter what is in these areas, we demand that Sarajevo be given to us because it is a Serbian city, it has always been in a Serbian milieu and on Serbian territory, and in turn, we shall give 5 percent in some other part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, some members of the European Union and the U.S. do not approve of the Franco-German approach to the linking of territorial concessions to the Muslims with the lifting of the sanctions; they continue to maintain a very hard line toward the Serbs; can we speak about certain tacit agreements regarding the employment of such tactics, or is something else involved?

[Karadzic] This is why I believe that this a is trick on the part of German diplomacy, which has made some hasty moves and mistakes in the past as regards events in Yugoslavia. They can now say that they were willing to be constructive, but the United States did not allow them this; just as the United States very often has a very good excuse for the Islamic countries, namely: We wanted to bomb the Serbs, but Europe would not allow us to. To put it simply, I believe that all this is a diplomatic game. We know that Germany caused the breakup of Yugoslavia, and that it intends to go on chopping up Serbia, that it wants to conquer the Danube because it is the cheapest transportation route, and the Morava River and the Vardar River valley as well.

Therefore, it is hard to believe that Germany is sincere in mediating this lifting of sanctions against Serbia. There are still enough powers in the world whose main goal, whose main activity in the Yugoslav crisis is applying the sanctions against Serbia. Not peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but sanctions against Serbia. However, there is another side to the story. It is possible that both France and Germany are close to reaching the conclusion that the sanctions can no longer be maintained and that Germany is trying to secure something at the last moment for its favorites the Muslims, because there is a possibility of greater pressure for lifting the sanctions. This would be an optimistic variant; we will soon find out just how realistic it is. However, it is certain that many European countries are suffering losses because of the sanctions. Greece is losing, as are Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Ukraine, and, believe it or not, Germany.

[Colovic] You have said a lot about the Germans and their position. Do you not perhaps think that they may now want to adapt to these new circumstances when the issue of sanctions is becoming so topical; they may want to repent their sins and save their political face, if that is at all possible after what they did in 1991 and 1992.

[Karadzic] This is very possible. It is possible that, owing to the fact that the German economy is suffering losses, they want the sanctions lifted; it is possible that they have realized that the world is against the sanctions and that they see that the sanctions will be lifted, so they want to do something for the Muslims. It is possible that their diplomacy wants the sanctions to be lifted or not, it wants to save face before the world and to lessen the pressure and criticism of the German position in the international and domestic public in relation to the crisis in Yugoslavia [sentence as heard]. However, we cannot but assess that Germany is the main cause and the main guilty party for the breakup of Yugoslavia, for such a bloody and anti-Serbian breakup of Yugoslavia, and it is absolutely certain that a part of the U.S. establishment has played the German role, that is, that it has conducted Germany's policy. It is the very strong German lobby in the State Department and generally in the U.S. Administration. This is the only explanation for the U.S. stubbornness regarding the Serbs. There is no other rational explanation.

[Colovic] Mr. Karadzic, just one more question; this question is only indirectly connected to what we have been discussing so far. What would be your message to the Sarajevo Bosnian folk, and I am thinking of all the nationalities now, on the verge of what everyone is saying will be an extremely harsh and cold winter?

[Karadzic] Well, my message would be what we have been saying all along. We have to establish peace and get on with normal life, and turn to the economy. We have established a partial, separate peace with [Fikret] Abdic; we have good contacts and relations with certain communes in Muslim Bosnia, and we know for a fact that an overwhelming number of citizens want peace to be established. However, we cannot agree to cease-fires that would only give the Muslims a chance to grow stronger militarily, and to appear on our borders in the spring with a very strong offensive. Peace can have no alternative, and it should have no prerequisites, but it must be final. Peace that would be accompanied by a signing of the borders [potpisivanje granica], and if a part of the territory should remain controversial, that can be solved in time. The important thing is to protect human rights in these areas, and I believe that the issue of possession of this or that piece of land by a republic need not be crucial to peace. As far as we are concerned, peace could be signed in a week's time and the majority of the borders could be established. The international public should also value the fact that the Serbs are not the ones who [words indistinct]. On the contrary. With their [word indistinct], their benevolence, concessions, they have contributed to peace, they have brought us to the very brink of peace, and really, at least the sanctions [in UN Resolution] No. 820, which are connected to the acceptance or rejection of the plan, should be lifted immediately.

[Colovic] [Words indistinct] would like to thank you.

[Karadzic] Thank you.

HVO Commander Aims Artillery at Sarajevo's Muslims

LD1011162093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Ivica Rajic, the commander of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in Kiseljak told Croatian television late last night that some of his artillery guns had been directed toward Sarajevo, threatening Muslim forces with coordinated attacks against their positions and certain strategic targets.

"I turned some of my artillery barrels toward Muslim positions around Sarajevo to warn them that if they do not return things to normal in Sarajevo by 10 November, they will have to suffer coordinated fire on all Muslim positions and certain targets considered to be strategic by their Muslim forces."

The HVO commander in Kiseljak stressed "there was nothing to hide" and that "those who used force should be aware that these artillery attacks are the only way to respond."

According to Belgrade television, HVO units from Kiseljak launched a fierce artillery attack on Muslim military and civilian targets in Sarajevo yesterday morning. Seven civilians, including three children, were killed in yesterday's attack on Sarajevo. Citing a statement issued by the Muslim Army, Muslim Radio Sarajevo accused the Serb side of the attack and this was used as an excuse to open fire on Serb defense positions in Sarajevo.

It has been learned that Croat units launched the attack as an act of revenge, after a fierce Muslim offensive on Croat towns in central Bosnia and recent events in Sarajevo, where members of the local HVO brigade were tricked into disarming and consequently, many of them were arrested.

HVO's Second Zone Commander 'Relieved of Duties'

LD1011172393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Excerpt] The office of the president of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna has reported that the commander of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] second operational zone in Kiseljak, Colonel Ivica Rajic, has been relieved of his duties. A statement issued by the office says that he was relieved because of the very complex defense situation in central Bosnia and that an investigation was launched into Rajic's responsibility for the deterioration in relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the UNHCR in the Kiseljak area. [passage omitted]

Serb 'Captors' Release Two Senior Police Officers

AU1111124393 Paris AFP in English 1223 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 11 (AFP)—Two senior Bosnian policemen have been released by their Serb captors and returned safely to Sarajevo, a UN Protection Force spokesman said Thursday [11 November].

The two men were released into the hands of UNPROFOR Civil Affairs Coordinator for Bosnia Viktor Andreev, around 12:20 P.M. (1120 GMT), and returned to the Presidency in downtown Sarajevo where they were met by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, said Major Idesbald Van Biesebroeck.

Their release enabled a convoy of some 120 Bosnian Serbs to leave Sarajevo after a four day delay.

First Bus of Sarajevo Evacuees Arrives in Lukavica

LD1111144593 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] News that has recently received a lot of attention is the departure of the convoy from Sarajevo. Today, after the Serb authorities released Jozo Andjic and Perdo Dejanovic, members of the Muslim Ministry of Internal Affairs who are under the well-founded suspicion of having committed war crimes against the Serb population, the Muslim authorities allowed the remaining part of the convoy—evacuating mainly the elderly, women and children from Sarajevo—to leave the Muslim part of the town.

The report we have just received says that a bus with 68 people has just arrived in Lukavica [Serb-held suburb southwest of Sarajevo]. Mladen Krcmanovic, our editor who is in Lukavica, will confirm the story.

[Krcmanovic] You are right. Shortly after 1400, the first bus with exactly 68 passengers on board arrived in Lukavica. Of course, the bus was under heavy UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] escort. [passage omitted]

We are expecting, on the basis of reports received so far, one or maybe more buses to arrive in Lukavica this afternoon—if there are enough people at the bus station in Sarajevo with valid documents to leave Sarajevo. I would like to invite all citizens of Sarajevo who have the appropriate documents to come to the bus station and improve the process of evacuation, which has finally begun. [passage omitted]

1st Corps Issues Statement on HVO Troops

AU1011212093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] After systematically conducting preliminary legal procedures and compiling extensive documentation, the Military and State Security Service has filed charges with the County Military Prosecutor's Office against Slavko Ivan Zelic because of the founded suspicion that he was guilty of undermining the state's defense.

Repulsive lies and distorted truths about events in Sarajevo are promoted daily in the media of the Republic of Croatia and the so-called Herceg-Bosnia. The lie that Slavko Zelic and others under suspicion were maltreated, humiliated, and even tortured dominates this farrago of inaccurate information. We are taking this opportunity to deny this most energetically, reads the statement of the 1st Corps Command.

The 1st Corps Command and the Military and State Security Service wish to thank all members of the former Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the HVO General Staff, and the Croatian King Tvrtko Brigade for their correct behavior and unselfish help in carrying out their official duties in the process of transforming HVO units. The majority of these patriotic and Bosnia-oriented troops and commanders have contributed fully to documenting the activities of Slavko Zelic and other supporters of Mate Boban's extremist policy and loyalty to Grude as the center of this policy.

In analyzing these events, Stjepan Kljuic, Fra Franjo Topic, Vladimir Sap, Stjepan Rudenjak, and the families of those in custody have stressed the correctness of the preliminary legal procedures. The 1st Corps Command considers that the best confirmation of the correctness and dignity exhibited in carrying out these duties is the fact that the majority of the members of the former HVO have voluntarily joined the newly-formed Croatian King Tvrtko Brigade. That is why the 1st Corps Command again stresses that the members of the Croatian King Tvrtko Brigade are patriotic citizens from the ranks of the Croatian people who have been and remain a strong foundation of our joint homeland, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its peoples.

Muslims Release Bosnian Croat Officers

LD1111125493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] The officers of Sarajevo's Croatian Defense Council [HVO] who were arrested by Muslim forces on 6 October were released yesterday afternoon. Zeljko Jukic, deputy chairman of the Sarajevo HVO; Ivan Vulic, commander of the King Tvrtko Brigade; and Tomislav Kukor, Vinko Bosnjak, Ivica Bradar, and Gordan Mandaric have been released. HINA reports that Slavko Zelic, chairman of the Sarajevo HVO, is still in prison. Charges have been brought against him.

Veso Vegar, assistant defense minister of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, said that the extension of Zelic's detention is an attempted by the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo to find a pretext for the arrest of Sarajevo HVO leaders. The process against Zelic is a political trial, Vegar said.

Krajisnik: Croats Shelled Sarajevo School

LD1011174393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Jagodina, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the Serb Republic Assembly [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], made a statement for Jagodina Radio today energetically denying allegations broadcast by Muslim media saying that Serb forces had shelled Sarajevo yesterday.

He presented evidence saying that the Croat units, in retaliation for the disarming of members of the Croatian Defense Council in Sarajevo, used their long-range artillery based in Kiseljak, targeting the Muslim-held part of Sarajevo and hitting the elementary school killing children and their teacher.

"Today I had a phone conversation with Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and I asked him to publicly deny that the Serbs had shelled Sarajevo. However, the truth is that Silajdzic knows that, but further demonization of the Serbs suits Muslims, irrespective of the fact that we have not been at war with either Muslims or Croats for months."

Asked to comment on the Franco-German proposal that the Serbs give three percent of the Serb Republic territory to the Muslims, that will in return result in the alleviation of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, Krajisnik said: "This is a big political swindle whose aim is to cause discord between the Serbs in Serbia and Montenegro and the Serbs in the Serb Republic, because if we do not fulfill this condition set by the Western powers, we will appear to be prolonging the sanctions against our brothers in Yugoslavia. I am glad, however, that in my contacts with relevant officials in the Republic of Serbia today, I received assurances that they had seen through this political game of the West, because it is clear to everybody that we shall not cede a single percent of our territory to the Muslims and Croats."

Izetbegovic Addresses Public After School Attack

AU1111154193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, who is currently touring the free territories, made the following statement regarding the massacre of children in Sarajevo and the destruction of the old bridge in Mostar while travelling around the defense positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

In the course of this long [word indistinct] I have received a lot of bad news, which seemed to arrive one after another. Among such news, the ones which touched me most deeply (?were) the news of the massacre of children in Sarajevo and the destruction of the old bridge in Mostar. I am appalled, says President Izetbegovic. Such crimes leave one speechless. May the murderers and criminals be damned.

Of course, we will not stop at mere condemnation. We will not avenge these crimes by killing children and destroying cultural and historical heritage, but we will do everything to see that the criminals are punished. The day will surely come for this. This is a chance for asking the so-called civilized world, or more precisely, Great Britain and France, why they have left us without weapons? Why have they stripped us of our right to self-defense, and are mercilessly killing us?

From these areas, surrounded by a people fighting for the fundamental value of human life—freedom, I can, without reservation, say that I consider them to be partly to blame for all that is happening to us, stresses President Izetbegovic in a special statement for the Bosnia-Herzegovina public.

When I reflect upon these two crimes, I have to admit that the news of the coldblooded murder of children with artillery shells was the one which touched me more deeply. God willing, we are going to rebuild the bridge, but what consolation can we offer to a parent who has lost his little girl? I am a parent, and I know that there can be no cure for such pain. Nevertheless, I would like to use this occasion, says President Izetbegovic, to express my condolences to all those who have lost their dearest in the latest barbaric attacks on Sarajevo.

They are not alone in these, for them, unbearably hard moments. These are days of the deepest sorrow for us all, stressed President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic, in a special address to the public following the bestial killing of children in Sarajevo and the destruction of the old bridge in Mostar.

Karadzic Comments on Macedonia, Future Map of FRY

AU1111175293 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 8 Nov 93 p 11

[Report by Sarajevo correspondent Ognyan Stoenelov on interview given by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to Bulgarian journalists from 24 CHASA, DUMA, TRUD, and BALKAN INFORMATION POOL; place and date not given: "Macedonia Is Making Dishonest Gains From Sanctions and We Will Pay Them Back for This"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Will you activate contacts with more moderate Muslim leaders like Fikret Abdic?

[Karadzic] Yes. They have already sensed the advantage of this separate peace. Now the humanitarian convoys and goods are reaching them much more easily. We are not fighting among ourselves. We would accept any peace offer made by the Muslims. However, I fear that someone is encouraging the Muslims to prepare a great offensive against the Serbs. As you see, they have made much progress against the Croats, but their operations against us have never been successful. However, if they win more territory and receive more weapons, there will be a big war.

[Correspondent] Are you aware that Bulgaria is losing billions of dollars as a result of the UN sanctions against former Yugoslavia?

[Karadzic] Yes, this is a crime that violates the laws of humanity, but we are still holding out. We have enough fuel and enough coal—140,000 tonnes, we can even export coal. However, the sanctions are an evil not only for the Serbs but also for their neighbors. Greece is losing, but Macedonia is gaining. The Macedonians have not dealt honestly with us. What they have done to us is very bad. I want to state officially that Macedonia's conduct is not correct. If some time they have to turn to us, we will never, never forget this. We will always remember it and will pay them back for it.

[Correspondent] How do you see the future map of former Yugoslavia when the war is over?

[Karadzic] Possibly, there may be some form of confederation including Serbian Krajina, the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], Serbia, Montenegro, and probably Macedonia. Macedonia cannot defend itself and survive without Yugoslavia. This is obvious. They have great tension there. The Albanians greatly want to seize control of a substantial part of Macedonia. The best thing for Macedonia is for it to join Yugoslavia as a sovereign state, under some form of confederation. I do not think Slovenia, Croatia, and the Muslim state will join the new union, if we call it this. What is important for us is to be free and independent within or outside the Bosnian union, with or without Serbia, but we simply cannot accept Muslim supremacy. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you think Bulgaria has aspirations toward Macedonia?

[Karadzic] I have not noticed any aspirations. It will be a very bad thing for Macedonia if it disintegrates like Yugoslavia. However, if the Macedonians are threatened with attack by the Albanians and blood is shed, I would recommend them to act like us and sit down at the conference table and arrange the life of their ethnic communities without bloodshed. It is much better to cede territory than for blood to be shed, or for two communities to be coerced into living together. That is like putting a cat and dog together.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what are the prospects for cooperation between the Serbian Republic and the former Yugoslav republics, on the one side, and Bulgaria on the other, and for cooperation in the Balkans as a whole?

[Karadzic] I think that there is a feeling in the air as regards the Orthodox states and their peoples. A certain closeness exists between the Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Romanians. I believe that the Serbs and Bulgarians should never again be enemies. A terrible mistake was made at the start of the century, during the Balkan War, and during World Wars I and II. Now we must be good neighbors, if not brothers. We will cooperate closely among ourselves and unite with the other Serbian states. We will develop our cooperation with Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania in the same way.

UNPROFOR Reportedly Aided Officials' Escape

LD1011143193 Zagreb Croatian Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Ramiz Drekovic, former commander of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, [Bosnian Foreign Minister] Irfan Ljubjankic, Mustafa Ceric [head of Bosnian Islamic community], and Fadil Hasanagic escaped from Bihac last night. According to a statement issued by the press office of the government of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, they fled—secretly assisted by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]—and without informing the government. If UNPROFOR continues with these activities, we will have to use force to prevent any further transport of such people, the statement says.

UN's Cot: Force Necessary To Guard Aid Convoys

AU1111163293 Paris AFP in English 1618 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 11 (AFP)—The United Nations will probably have to use force to get humanitarian aid convoys through to needy people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the head of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), General Jean Cot, said Thursday.

"I think that we ... have reached the limit of what it is possible to accept from people, parties who hinder the movements of humanitarian convoys, and that without a doubt, the use of force is approaching," Cot told a news conference in the Croatian capital. A "military directive," he added, "will be implemented as soon as the (U.N.) Secretary-General (Butrus Butrus-Ghali) decides to resume convoys."

Cot was speaking on return from a meeting with Butrus-Ghali in New York. Convoys were suspended in Bosnia after a Danish driver in a convoy was killed last month near Novi Travnik.

"Up until now, we have not yet ... deliberately opened fire, on the ground or in the air, to get convoys through," Cot said. This was "because this is a grave decision which would have grave consequences for the force as well" and because until now, UNPROFOR "considered that discussion with the parties fighting ... was still possible, and ... that progress could still be made between the force and the HCR (the U.N. High Commission for Refugees) to assure (the passage of) convoys."

He stressed that "use of force is also a question of the rapport of force" and that some 5,000 U.N. peacekeepers still lacking to enforce U.N. resolutions already voted would be "precious" for "employing force." [sentence as received]

Cot said that in the event of a political agreement between the fighting parties, another 6,000 men would be needed just to protect the only road between Ploce in Croatia and Tuzla in central Bosnia. Without an agreement, double that amount would be needed, he said.

In the case of two Bosnian Interior Ministry officials kidnapped Monday while accompanying a Croat Roman Catholic delegation aboard UNPROFOR vehicles, and freed Thursday, UNPROFOR could not "envisage using force" unless it had had "a reserve battalion in the region." UNPROFOR could have sent 50 armoured troop transport vehicles within 30 minutes to surround the Serbs who trapped three light vehicles in the U.N. convoy, Cot said.

Cedric Thornberry, UNPROFOR's top civilian affairs official, meanwhile expressed concern Thursday at "rising tension" between the Croatian Army and Serb secessionist forces in western Slavonia (northern Croatia). He said both sides were undertaking "remilitarisation in obvious violation of (U.N.) Security Council Resolution 743" which calls for zones under U.N. protection to be "demilitarised."

Muslims Reportedly Receiving Arms Despite Embargo

LD1111124693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1129 GMT 11 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Moslems are increasing their arsenal every day and some of their units are armed with the most sophisticated weapons which they receive both from domestic arms manufacturers and from abroad.

The Moslems from the war-ravaged ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina get weapons and oil from the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops and within relief aid parachuted from NATO planes as part of operation Provide Promise, the Bosnian Serb Republic (RS) authorities said.

Several months ago, members of the Bosnian Serb army uncovered in Sarajevo's Ilidza suburb a large consignment of ammunition and weapons within a humanitarian aid shipment escorted by the U.N. troops. Later it was revealed that a large quantity of weapons and ammunition, worth several million dollars, arrived for the Bosnian Moslems also within a relief aid shipment at Maribor Airport, ex-Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

Arms and ammunition have also been delivered to the Bosnian Moslems via the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. However, the world public remanined mute to these warnings by the RS authorities.

The U.N. Security Council two years ago adopted a resolution banning its members from selling weapons in the territory of ex- Yugoslavia. Proof that the resolution was violated is a recent statement by the co-chairman of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia, Lord David Owen, that some Security Council members had supplied weapons to certain sides in the Bosnian war in the 1991-1993 period.

Bosnian Serb Army Commander-in-Chief, General Ratko Mladic, recently told Spanish paper CAMBIO 16 that NATO planes are parachuting ammunition, weapons and oil to the Moslems every night and said that proof of this is the fact that his army had siezed a number of "Milan" and "Fagot" rocket launchers.

"We have shown this to the representatives of the foreign press, but they have not published this," Gen. Mladic said.

Fundamentalist Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic publically a number of times confirmed that he is both buying weapons abroad and that his army is manufacturing them. As much as 70 percent of arms manufacturing plants of the former Yugoslav Federation remain in Bosnia, mainly in its central part which is now controlled by troops loyal to Izetbegovic and where the Moslems are making weapons on a large-scale basis.

TANJUG learned from local Bosnian Serb army comands that in Bugojno the Moslems are manufacturing fuses for all kinds of ammunition, "certain quantities of equipment and weaponry" in Travnik, all kinds of grenades in Tesanj, semi-automatic and automatic rifles in Zavidovici, ammunition in Konjic, barrels for big weapons in Zenica, various weapons in Gorazde and grenades with chlorine, caustic soda and other dangerous and toxic substances banned by international conventions in Banovici.

Iztebegovic's troops have used chlorine grenades several times against the Bosnian Serb army in central Bosnia. UNPROFOR is gathering information about this, but no official report has so far been revealed. The Bosnian Moslems receive explosives mainly through private channels from the Czech Republic.

'Mojahedin' Allegedly Training 5th Corps

AU1011140293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] The Serbian side has reports that a special unit called Hizbollah is actively participating in the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. As is being explained, a large group of mostly extremist mojahedin from some Middle East countries are involved. They are military (?instructors) who are training the followers of the idea of jihad to fight against the Serbs, as well as against the defenders and population of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, as military sources in the Serbian Republic claim.

Serb Republic Says Croats Preparing Offensive

LD1111153193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Banja Luka, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—Croatia is preparing an attack on the northern part of the Serb Republic (RS), as was clear from the movements of tanks and other military vehicles on the night of November 10-11, the mounting number of provocations in which infantry weapons were used, and the massing of troops. TANJUG learned from RS army sources that larger movements of tanks were observed along Croatia's bank of the River Sava, 15 kilometers east of Slavonski Brod .

A large terrorist-commando group made an incursion from Croatia into the RS across the River Sava in the same area last week, but was quickly put to rout by the

army of the RS, the state of the Serbian people in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Croatia's regular army units and forces of local Croats, the Croat Defense Council (HVO), again launched a heavy attack on RS positions and Serb settlements in the area of Orasje in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina on Wednesday and Thursday. The Serb side had no casualties, but the shelling caused significant material damages on civilian facilities, according to RS army sources.

Croatia's army has carried out aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina. It first sided with the local Croats and Muslims in the war against the Bosnian Serbs. However, since early this year, it has been supporting the local Croats in their showdown with Muslims in central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Abdic Forces Claim To 'Liberate' Johovica

LD1111202893 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] The information service of the Defense and Interior Ministry of the autonomous province of western Bosnia reports that units of the People's Defense Forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia managed to completely liberate Johovica in a strong counterattack and brilliantly planned operation this afternoon. Johovica was the Izetbegovic forces' toughest stronghold.

Shortly after 1400, the remainder of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps launched a decisive attack with all means at its disposal on the separation lines in the villages of Johovica and Skokovi.

The Allahu-Akbar, Hamza, and Sanske Muhe terrorist groups have been completely routed, and more than 100 soldiers of the 5th Corps taken prisoner.

The People's Defense Forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia also liberated the strategically important points of Popovo Brdo, Blagova Kosa, and Omica Brdo in the direction of Cazin.

TANJUG Cites 'Fierce' Fighting

LD1111195593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Petrovac, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—Fierce clashes between troops loyal to fundamentalist Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and forces of his rival, President of the newly proclaimed Muslim autonomous province of west Bosnia (APZB) Fikret Abdic continued on APZB territory on Thursday.

Fierce inter-Muslim fighting in Western Bosnia, a Muslim enclave whose autonomy was proclaimed by the local population in late September, started a month and a half ago when Izetbegovic ordered his troops to use "all means" to put an end to the new autonomy.

The heaviest fighting occured on Thursday in the area of the village Johovica, where Izetbegovic's troops attempted to break through the APZB army's defense lines, the APZB news agency ZBIA and the Velika Kladusa-based Radio Velkaton said. Abdic's forces repelled the attacks but had casualties, according to the same sources.

The Bihac-based radio, loyal to the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo, said that one member of Izetbegovic's army was killed and several were wounded in the fighting in the area of Johovica.

Sarajevo Radio Carries Battle Reports 9 Nov

AU1011122993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 9 November gives the following account of the combat situation in the republic:

The correspondent from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic, reports that "the morning of 10 November began with fierce shelling of the Maglaj town center. The residents were still recovering from yesterday's [word indistinct] stay in the shelters when a general alarm was sounded at 0900 [0800 GMT] after several mortar bombs had been fired." Sermic also reports that the town is expecting the arrival of "the (?second) convoy of desperately needed food" today.

The correspondent from Olovo, Amira Salihbasic, says that "the shelling from artillery, tanks, and mortars, supported by multiple rocket launchers, plus the wholehearted support of the infantry forces of [word indistinct] enemy from the direction of [word indistinct] plateau, [word indistinct] near Crna Rijeka have again been gaining in intensity since this morning in (?Miljeve) and in other parts of the Olovo front. Judging by the Chetnik artillery activities against all lines of defense, another difficult day is expected here.

As the announcer in the studio reports, on the Brcko battlefields, a "concentration of fresh troops and military hardware" has been noticed around Brcko. "The early morning was marked by fire from mortar, pragas [truck-based weapon system], Bofors guns, and machine guns," he also says.

Quoting the "Command of the East Bosnia Operative Group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army," a dispatch from Gorazde by Enes Musovic says that "the Chetnik forces from Uzice, Pozega, and other Serbian towns" have been observed in the vicinity of the town. "The movement of armored-mechanized units and Chetnik units from the direction of [word indistinct] toward the free Gorazde territory has been noticed. Similarly in [word indistinct] and other nearby hills—Chetnik strongholds, a concentration of tanks and other heavy arms was noticeable, which all implies that a powerful offensive against Gorazde will take place very soon. According to reliable reports available to the Command

of the East Bosnia Operative Group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Gorazde, this Chetnik offensive will most probably take place early tomorrow morning."

10 Nov Fighting Described

AU1011203093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 10 November carries in its regular 50-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic. Reception is fair.

Describing the situation in Sarajevo, the studio announcer says that "while Sarajevo was still mourning yesterday's innocent victims of the Chetnik gunners, lethal new shells came flying in today from the Chetnik positions. Eight civilians were killed and 25 wounded, 15 of them children, in the shelling of Alipasino Polje and Otoka."

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic said that "it started this morning with mortars and then the destruction of the town continued with tanks, artillery, Bofors guns, and antiaircraft machine guns. Over 80 destructive shells landed on the defense lines and the town."

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo says that, as the "[Serbian] aggressor's offensive" continued in the region of Crna Rijeka, "some 1,200 people from the surrounding villages started fleeing for shelter, but, like many times before, the united [Serbian and Croatian Defense Council—HVO] aggressor mercilessly fired on the columns of these unfortunate people. Over 30 people have been seriously wounded. It is feared that over 300 people have remained inside the encirclement, and nothing is known about their fate."

Salih Hadzialic reports from Visoko that this afternoon a general alarm was sounded in the town as "the Chetniks and Ustasha jointly started to shell the town and the surrounding area. The Chetniks from the region of (?Vela) fired a dozen 155-mm howitzer missiles at the town's center, while HVO Kiseljak fighters from the Sikulja region fired several howitzer shells at Kralupe. Eleven civilians have been wounded, seven of them seriously, in today's shelling." As for Fojnica, "heavy artillery and infantry attacks by the HVO were reported along the entire defense line, while the town itself has been exposed to a fierce barrage from Ustasha artillery."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "this afternoon the provocative [Serbian] enemy fire on the southeastern part of the front turned into a heavy mortar attack on (Poderiste). For a whole hour the enemy pounded the village with 82-mm mortars."

Enes Osmancevic reports on the situation in the Tuzla region, saying that "the enemy used Maljutka missiles against residential areas in Celic. Within a very short period the Chetniks fired dozens of mortars and [number indistinct] Maljutka missiles. The fierce shelling of Celic is still under way."

In a separate report the same correspondent describes the situation in Vares, saying that "even though the town has over the last few days been exposed to the artillery and multiple rocket launchers of the united aggressor [Serbian and HVO], the situation in the town is stable and life is gradually returning to normal. Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces withdrew from Vares four days ago and settled in positions nearby. Civilian legal authorities have been reinstated in the town, and I have seen for myself people returning to Vares." He says that "the Chetniks are holding a large number of the Croatian civilian population hostage in Dastansko and Vrbule. They are neither allowed to continue on their way nor to return to Vares. [Ivica] Rajic's Ustasha have taken the women and children to Kiseljak, and are forcing all the men of military age to attack this town under the threat of murdering their families. Emil Harak, Ivica Gavran, Zvonko Duzinovic, and Ante Pejcinovic are the masterminds behind this." He cites deputy commander Ramiz Suvalic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2nd Corps as saying that "the relations between the army and the HVO in the Tuzla region are good."

HVO Repels Muslim Attacks in Kiseljak Area

LD1111113593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Report from Mostar by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpts] There was no heavy fighing in Mostar last night or this morning. [passage omitted] The HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Main Headquarters this morning issued a communique saying that attacks by two corps of the Muslim army on the territory of Kiseljak and Fojnica have been repelled and that in the area of (Laze) near Kiseljak the HVO succeeded in taking new positions in a counterattack. Two HVO members were killed in this round of fighting, the communique says.

Muslim forces renewed their attacks in the region of Kuber and Loncari near Vitez. All the attacks have been repelled, with the Muslim army side suffering considerable losses; there were no casualties in the shelling of the center of Vitez, the HVO announced.

Muslims Attack Serb Positions in Sarajevo

LD1111152893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1456 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bratunac, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslems have continued their attacks on Serb positions in Sarajevo over the past 24 hours, prolonging the agony of the remaining refugees who are waiting to be evacuated from the city where total anarchy irks even the Moslems.

Moslem mortars and snipers are maintaining constant fire on the Serb suburbs of Nedzarici, Azici, Lukavica and Kula, Bosnian Serb military sources say. No reports of causalties were immediately available.

The Serb side has obtained information that the Moslems are planning a large-scale offensive in an effort to take the left bank of the Drina river. Renewed Moslem heavy artillery attacks from the direction of Gorazde in the east on the Serb positions at Cajnice, Ustikolina and Rogatica are believed to be a prelude to the offensive.

In early September, Moslem fundamentalists, led by hardline leader Alija Izetbegovic, rejected an internationally drawn peace plan for Bosnia, demanding more territory. Since then, Moslem offensives have been mostly directed against Croat units in central Bosnia and in Mostar, but attacks on Serb positions have been stepped up of late.

On Wednesday, Moslems shelled Doboj and Teslic from big-bore cannon, the local Serb military command said. However, this has not prevented joint Serb-Moslem commissions in Doboj and Tesanj exchanging the bodies of those killed on both sides. The bodies of eight Serb fighters were exchanged for the bodies of 14 Moslem soldiers.

'Chetnik' Infantry Attack Near Gorazde Repelled

AU1111202893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Enes Musovic report from Gorazde]

[Text] Although the expected fierce offensive on Gorazde did not begin this morning, the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor was not quiet in this area. He was particularly active on the (Rogatica) route, where he shelled the defense lines throughout the day from Varos. From their stronghold on (Dejk), the Chetniks used a Praga against (Sudicka Kosa). At around 1100, and from the direction of Foca, the aggressor attempted an infantry breakthrough supported by artillery in the region of Lasnicka Kosa, but the alert and brave troops of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army did not allow any surprises, and they easily repelled the Chetniks, forcing them to return to their initial positions.

Datelji was also shelled from Maslinova Stijena and (Prace), while the defense lines were shelled from Carevo Guvno. The Chetniks gave no respite to the inhabitants of the (Baci) village in the afternoon hours. This village was again shelled with four shells, while two tank shells landed on Vinarici. This Chetnik artillery orgy, in full view of the UN military observers in Gorazde, resulted in bloodshed. Three unarmed, innocent people were seriously wounded, one of them a woman. This has been Enes Musovic reporting from the Gorazde Press Center for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio Television.

More Shelling Reported in Gorazde

AU1211121293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Mustafa Kurtovic report from the Gorazde Press Center]

[Excerpt] There has been a real hell on all lines of separation on the free territory of Gorazde since yesterday. After they had heavily shelled (Daceljo) and other areas with 120 mm mortars, Chetniks attacked the lines of separation with 82 mm mortars from Carevo Guvno. In the afternoon, supported with artillery, they launched an infantry from the direction of Foca. They used all available weapons: mortars of 120 mm and 82 mm, antiaircraft guns and machine guns, and all other available weapons.

After this infantry attack failed, the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor tried to infiltrate a subversive-reconnaissance groups from several direction, but the courageous fighters from Gorazde repelled Karadzic's mad hordes to their well-known [word indistinct] positions.

Because of a lack of success in the afternoon, Chetniks attacked the innocent population of Gorazde last night. At about 1900, they shelled the very center of the town with the weapons of the highest caliber. Five persons were wounded seriously and one child of 13 years of age killed.

This morning, Chetniks are fiercely shelling the defense lines from Varosiste and [name indistinct]. About 100 shells landed on the lines of separation so far. No one was hurt. [passage omitted]

Goradze Commander Says Troops Coming From FRY

AU1011214293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Telephone interview with Abdulselam Sijercic, deputy commander of the Eastern Bosnia Operative Group, in Gorazde by Sanda Novosel in Sarajevo on 10 November—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Novosel] Even though it was proclaimed a protected zone, Gorazde has for months now been turned into a twilight zone. Almost every day information comes from this city about fierce artillery attacks, about the dead and the wounded. The latest information speaks of a new Chetnik offensive.

[Sijercic] As for the military situation in the Gorazde region, it is marked by preparations for an imminent Chetnik offensive against this area. The preparations themselves are like the many before—according to the information that we have received from the ground—large concentrations of enemy forces have been registered around the entire zone of responsibility of the Eastern Bosnia Operative Group, as has considerable movement of equipment and weapons, and the deployment of forces, so we can say with certainty that as early as tomorrow an offensive may be launched on this region. This can be confirmed by our experience hitherto, since all the previous offensives were prepared for in a similar way, so the fighters of the Eastern Bosnia Operative Group and the Gorazde region are ready and, I hope, will repulse all the enemy attacks successfully.

[Novosel] Where are the aggressor's forces coming from? From what regions?

[Sijercic] According to the reports from our reconnaissance units, the heaviest forces are expected from the Republic of Serbia, that is from Uzice and Pljevlja. Also enemy forces have been observed coming in from Pljevlja in Montenegro toward Cajnice. Our communications people have intercepted what appeared to be Russian mercenaries, so they have again deployed such mercenary units around Gorazde.

[Novosel] The military and civilian authorities of Gorazde have on many occasions turned to the international community for the protection of the population of this region, having in mind all those resolutions of the international community, particularly those about Gorazde being a protected zone.

[Sijercic] As you have yourself said, we have turned to them many times and have many times been disappointed. That is why we no longer expect anything much. I do not think that we can do anything but put our trust in God and keep our powder dry. Knowing the situation and the moral of the fighters and the people, I think that we will endure, that we will again manage to repel the onslaught on this region and this city, even though we would not mind some concrete support. I think that this time it is a question of the reputation of all those who decide and negotiate on our behalf. [passage omitted]

Four Villages Reportedly Burned in Serbian Attacks

LD1111230693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Excerpt] The free territory of Brcko has been pounded all day long. Artillery has been pounding all lines of defense. The enemy has also been using Malutka guided missiles. Brcko's defenders have remained in their positions.

The Chetniks' fierce offensive launched from the highland of [word indistinct] on Crna [word indistinct] has been halted due to an effective operation carried out by combined units of the 2d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The consequences of this offensive are very grave, however. The villages of (Dubica), Golo Brdo, Drin, and Ravne have been completely burned down. About 1,000 people from these villages have arrived in the free territory of Olovo and Vares, while 160 have been captured and taken to the prison camp of Blazuj.

This is why appeals are coming from Olovo to the effect that humanitarian aid in food, medicines, and clothes should be sent as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Motives for Army Purge

AU1011131893 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 93 p 13

[Ejub Stitkovac commentary: "The Most Devoted in a Draft"]

[Text] Who will be next in line in the "action to clean up" the ranks of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina? This question is being asked not only by curious people, but by many in the Army's ranks. The replacement of Sefer Halilovic, chief of Staff of the Supreme Command, and Arif Pasalic and Ramiz Drekovic, commanders of the 4th and 5th Corps, shows that it is now even the turn of the officers who have been the most devoted, at least up until now. The reasons for the replacements are as different as they are diverse: ranging from a personal request, to accusations of covering up war crimes. It can be seen that the range is very great.

In the assessment of those who are more informed, the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided to take this step under pressure from the Muslim public in Bosnia. War was declared, for the same reasons, on crime in Sarajevo and other towns, because "this could no longer be endured." This action has been continuing so that another 36 members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina were arrested in Sarajevo the day before yesterday who were accused or suspected of criminal activities.

There are other reasons involved in the case of Halilovic, Pasalic, and Drekovic. The general consensus is that this primarily involved the situation on the battlefield despite certain military successes, as well as fear of the approaching winter and various obstacles to the delivery of humanitarian aid. The Muslim people are fed up with the war and the only chance of survival is seen to lie in negotiations and agreements either at the "local" or some other level. Military commanders are the most suitable people on whom to heap all the blame. The political leadership has, so far, not uttered one word of self-criticism. Indeed, there are few political leaderships on the territory of the former Yugoslavia that have uttered such words, so the "Sarajevo case" should not be surprising.

Gradual Replacement [subhead]

It is characteristic, for example, that Halilovic was replaced gradually. He was first of all commander of the Armed Forces only to jump from the frying pan into the fire a few months ago and has now been more permanently removed from the Armed Forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is also interesting that Ramiz Drekovic, commander of the 5th Corps, was replaced "at his own request," which was "by chance" settled at the same time. It is not an insignificant fact that both these officers are from the Sandzak.

That is to say, according to one idea, there have been increasing disagreements in the Bosnia-Herzegovina military and political leadership between the Sarajevo-Bosnian wing and the Sandzak wing. It has been mentioned in this connection that nothing has been heard of Ejup Ganic since Dr. Haris Silajdzic, former foreign affairs minister, became head of the (mainly Muslim) Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. These claims do not have to mean a lot, but in any case they provoke doubt

and curiosity. It is also not accidental that Ramiz Drekovic's post was taken by Arif Dudakovic, officer in the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], who was born in the village of Orahovi near Bosanska Gradiska. Like Halilovic, he has been proclaimed a war criminal in Croatia. This is also the case with many current officers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army who fought in Croatia as part of the former JNA. Many of these officers have announced, on several occasions, that they left its ranks when a "special ethnic cleansing" was started in it. Most of them were advocates of preserving an intact Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Multiplying Illogicalities [subhead]

Some illogicalities have been noticed in the appointment of new people and not only on the part of Izetbegovic. It is a very risky thing to appoint the aforementioned Dudakovic commander of the 5th Corps considering that, according to its former commander, this corps cooperated very well with the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. It will be difficult to achieve this cooperation with a man who has been proclaimed a war criminal by the Croatian authorities, so without this cooperation this formation will find it difficult to function. At the same time, Fikret Abdic, president of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, has made General Armin Pohara, who the Serbian authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina have proclaimed a war criminal, head of his army. If Abdic cares about peace with the Serbs above all else, then this act will not benefit him. These are only some illogicalities.

It is difficult to believe the claim that the newly appointed people are "more extreme than the previous commanders on Izetbegovic's staff," as responsible people loyal to Abdic are saying, because they consider all those on the other side to be mercenaries and extremists. And vice versa. Little is generally known about these people. According to whatever logic, excessively belligerent people, especially when it comes to western Bosnia, do not suit Izetbegovic in this situation either.

There is also a story circulating that Drekovic was actually replaced in order to enable the situation to change and some kind of reconciliation to be reached among the Muslims in western Bosnia.

While various speculation is circulating about how the newly appointed commanders will behave, Abdic is rubbing his hands in glee at the first practical successes of his peace mission. This has been shown by the first humanitarian convoy sent from Zagreb to his region without being accompanied by members of UNPROFOR [the United Nations Protection Force]. The agreements that he signed in Zagreb and Belgrade about a lasting peace have obviously not remained dead on the page. For a large section of the Muslim population in the Cazin Krajina this is more significant than all the peace conferences that have been held so far and the replacement of war commanders.

Plans of Izetbegovic's Government Viewed

AU1011121693 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 93 pp 32,33

[Ivan Saric article: "Until Luck Turns"]

[Text] Sarajevo, once a fancy Olympic city, is dying away by the minute before the eyes of the entire world. The Serbian aggressor or, as the inhabitants of Sarajevo say, Chetniks and criminals, have decided to complete their job before winter, because the economic sanctions, intra-Serbian conflicts, hunger, misery, and poverty of *Serbia in the east* are just an additional imperative motive of General Mladic and his army to finalize their dance of death as soon as possible. In Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegovic is simultaneously making crucial personnel moves and, in the silence of the "Bank of Sarajevo" security vault, with his son Bakir, closest family and associates, he is determined to endure the prolonged war, which has lasted for several years, long ago announced by his deputy Ejup Ganic. The "quota" of 400,000 Muslim victims has still not been fulfilled, the Serbs are getting more and more exhausted—Izetbegovic thinks—while, according to the same logic, it will be easy to deal with the Croats. A plea for the hatred between the Muslims and the Croats has already been prepared by the media, and the statements of the religious head Mustafa Ceric about "the Catholic church being an Ustasha organization," given on the occasion of the Bosnjak Assembly in Sarajevo, or that "Neum and Mostar are historical Muslim towns," spoken at the gathering in Cazin, announce even more massacres between the two nations in central Bosnia.

Haris Silajdzic, who was up to the present moment foreign minister, seems to be appearing in this context and this atmosphere of "the blood-stained Balkan inn" in the role of a new Bosnian prime minister-designate. What does that mean, primarily for the destiny of the Bosnian Muslims, and what for Bosnia-Herzegovina in general bearing in mind the coming winter?

Although Haris Silajdzic has not yet revealed his program or new members of the government, well-informed sources compensate for the lack of official information. According to them, the rumor has it that the Muslim hard-liners advocating the war option could again be assigned key government positions. Moreover, according to the same sources, Irfan Ljubijankic, former mayor of Bihac and former president of the Bihac SDA [Party of Democratic Action], is supposed to take Silajdzic's position of the foreign minister. Those who are a bit more familiar with Ljubijankic's "image and work" claim that the man is unswervingly loyal to Alija Izetbegovic and that he is a persistent advocate of a twenty-year war. In the latest conflicts in the autonomous province of West Bosnia, Irfan Ljubijankic is very active in the Fifth Corps and is involved in mobilizing the locals for a war without mercy, first against "Abdic's traitors and secessionists," and then against the Croatian Defense Council. Appointing Ljubijankic to the most sensitive

position of foreign minister in the most crucial moment for the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, seems to confirm the predictions that the Sarajevo authorities headed by Izetbegovic are determined to continue the long-lasting war until, as Ejup Ganic said recently, the luck of war turns in favor of the Muslims.

Puppets on a String

In this personnel scheme, we again hear about Jusuf Pusina, former interior minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, he did not take Bakir Alispahic's function as first policeman, as a result of Alispahic's successful action in intra-Muslim conflicts in Sarajevo. Otherwise, Jusuf Pusina was said to be an advocate of a milder Muslim stream, which was energetically opposed to Rusmir Mahmutcehajic and Sefer Halilovic in the conflicts between the Army and the police that were going on at the time. However, after the replacement, which he found very hard to accept, there are fears that Mr. Pusina has changed, and that, if he wants to stay one of Izetbegovic's men, there is nothing left for him to do but to blindly obey the orders of his "boss." If we also consider the fact that Jusuf Pusina was born in Sandzak, we wonder whether the Sandzak lobby on the banks of the river Miljacka is again getting stronger or, to be more precise, becoming confirmed in its position. Judging by the recent bloody conflicts of the Army and the police with the local potentate Musan Topalovic-Caco, one could give an affirmative answer to that. For the late Caco, apart from violence and terror, was also notorious for his instinctive repulsion for everything pertaining to Sandzak. The remaining local army leaders who fought a fierce battle while they were in Sarajevo, on one side against the Chetniks, and on the other against the people from Sandzak, either left Sarajevo on their own or were chased out. We first of all refer to Juka Prazina, Zejnilo Delalic, Ismet Bajramovic-Celo, who, according to reliable sources, was recently almost killed by Alispahic's policemen.

The position of the Serb Miro Lazovic, outgoing president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament, was also seriously shaken. The SDA Executive Committee, which put up Haris Silajdzic as a candidate for the prime minister designate, is determined to have a Muslim as the new president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament. This would definitely close the green circle of personnel, whereby all key positions in Izetbegovic's authorities would be given to the Muslims. What will be the function of non- Muslims participating in Izetbegovic's authorities? Will they just go on giving legality and legitimacy to Alija Izetbegovic to continue pretending to be the president of sovereign, civic, indivisible, and internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina in his foreign politics, or will they, at least to some extent, be able to protect the interests of the Croats and the Serbs who have not as yet been chased away.

The fact that Ivo Komsic became a member of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Presidency sheds more light on this other option. Regardless of the fact that Komsic is not recognized by the authorities of the Croatian republic of Herzeg-Bosna and that Zagreb is not interested in "his case," Komsic's involvement in Izetbegovic's authorities could prove to be more efficient that the involvement of other non-Muslim officials. Particularly with regard to the fact that Komsic is strongly supported by the Bosnian Franciscans, which does not necessarily have to be of any importance unless Banski Dvori [the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia] gives some kind of a blessing to Komsic for his mission of protecting the interests of the Croats in Muslim enclaves. If, like other non-Muslim members of the Presidency, he also melts into the decor of the upholstered cabinet, so that they all become Izetbegovic's specimen copy and confirm the civic option before international factors—one will neither be able to protect the interests of non-Muslims in Izetbegovic's state, nor will Ivo Komsic ever be able, first of all before the Croats, to clear his name due to his participation in the authorities of the man who used him and all other "loyal Croats and Serbs" as puppets on a string in making the state he conceived in the *Islamic Declaration* while he was doing time in Foca.

Judging by the other two new members of the Presidency, Stjepan Kljujic and Nijaz Durakovic, neither Ivo Komsic nor the non-Muslim population have anything good to hope for. For, both Durakovic and Kljujic are against "the East," against "the West," against "the Chetniks," and "the Ustashas," and against Tudjman and Milosevic, though both are more partial to Slobo [Milosevic's nickname], who was for a long time ardently supported by the Communist Durakovic, after the famous Eighth Session of the Communist Party Central Committee, where Milosevic started realizing his dream about greater Serbia.

Even the latest issue of the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENE says that those two new members of Izetbegovic's Presidency are "proven fighters for Bosnia-Herzegovina," thus creating all conditions "for unhindered implementation of basic guidelines of Bosnia-Herzegovina politics: the fight for an indivisible state of nations with equal rights"—OSLOBODJENJE pointed out its not having specified which state it referred to: Bosnia-Herzegovina or some new Yugoslavia.

Simultaneously with those personnel changes in Sarajevo, bloody fighting is going on in the autonomous province of West Bosnia. Izetbegovic's Army decided to thoroughly crush the young province regardless of casualties, and to publicly hang Fikret Abdic-Babo—as announced by the Commander of the Fifth Corps of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army Ramiz Drekovic—on the town square of Velika Kladusa.

All that indicates that there will not soon be peace on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Ejup Ganic's announcement about the continuation of war and another 200,000 Muslim casualties is becoming true. Indeed, Ganic mentioned another 200,000 Muslim victims, and it is for others to add several more zeros to that figure when speaking about total casualties.

And during those Bosnia-Herzegovina massacres, Lord Owen and Stoltenberg announced that a new peace conference for the entire former Yugoslavia would take place in London when all the conditions are fulfilled. No one in the world can predict when that will be, but everyone has realized that the steaming, red-hot Bosnian pot can explode any minute. Such a blast would definitely be heard as far as London.

Krajina Serbs Want To Resume Peace Talks

LD1011235293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2321 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (TANJUG)—The Serb Krajina Government decided on Wednesday that talks with Croatia on ending hostilities and reopening roads should be resumed immediately. The talks should again be held with the mediation of the deputy co-chairmen of the Geneva-based conference on former Yugoslavia, Serb Krajina Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic said, as quoted by the Krajina news agency ISKRA.

The Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) Has been proclaimed by the local Serbs in those parts within the arbitrary communist-era borders of Croatia where they are the majority population, in response to Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia in 1991 and severe curtailing of their rights. Subsequent conflicts between Krajina Serbs and the regime in Zagreb resulted in the placing of the R.S.K. under U.N. protection in the spring of 1992. This has, however, failed to deter Croatia from launching three offensives against the territory which it regards as its own, most recently on September 9 of this year, when it killed more than 70 Serb civilians.

Late last week, the two sides signed a ceasefire agreement for sector east of the U.N. Protected Area (UNPA) in northeastern R.S.K.

On Wednesday, the two sides' representatives held talks with the mediation of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), at which they agreed to form joint commissions, which should comprise also UNPROFOR's representatives, to review ceasefire violations, their causes and steps to be taken against the offenders.

UN Note on Bosnia Causes 'Deepest Dissatifaction'

LD1011191593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text]) The Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement today in response to the statement of the UN Security Council on central Bosnia:

The Government of the Republic of Croatia has to express its deepest dissatisfaction with the latest statement of the Security Council in connection with the events in central Bosnia. It is with profound regret that we have to stress that the UN Security Council has overlooked the fact that over the last few days 15,000 Bosnian Croats were forced to leave their homes in the Vares enclave. Tens of thousands of Croats are currently seriously threatened in the Vitez enclave after the latest offensive launched by Bosnian Muslim armed forces.

The UN Security Council did not react to numerous demands by the Croatian Government to delegate this issue to previous sessions of the Security Council. The Security Council has decided not to grant safe area status to endangered Bosnian Croat enclaves in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina. So far, the council has even avoided identifying the victims and attackers in central Bosnia. The Croatian Government finds it difficult to understand the reason why the tragic position of Bosnian Croats is not an issue of interest for the Security Council. Unfortunately, this attitude, which does not take into account the key element of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, could send a wrong message to those whose activities are directed against peace and stability and to those who insist on war as the only way to a solution.

Tudjman's Talks With Greek Minister Detailed

LD1011190493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] President Franjo Tudjman received a delegation of the Republic of Greece headed by Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in the presidential palace today.

President Tudjman informed his guests about Croatia's position on how to solve the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and on his peace initiative. He stressed that Croatia was interested in having good relations with Greece, not only because of Greece's special position in the region as a Balkan and Mediterranean country with great opportunities for bilateral cooperation in all areas, but also because—as a member of the European Union [EU], the future chairman of the EU Ministerial Council, and a NATO member—Greece can play an important role in finding a permanent solution to the crisis and the normalization of relations in the former Yugoslavia.

Minister Papoulias stressed that the normalization of Croat-Serb relations is the basic precondition for a stable peace, which prompted President Tudjman to say that Croatia is ready to do that, following the mutual recognition of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—within their respective internationally recognized borders.

The peace initiative spells out Croatia's concrete proposals on how to deal with the protected areas. President Tudjman stressed that the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of the most complex problems facing the international community because of inter-ethnic, religious, and also civilizational differences. Croatia is interested in the war ending as soon as possible on the basis of the agreement on the Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has already been accepted in principle by all three sides. Controversial issues of territorial division should be left to international mediators to deal with. The international community, the United Nations, and NATO must guarantee the agreed cease-fire, with the authority to use force against those who breach the cease- fire.

Expressing thanks for his reception and conveying the greetings of Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, Minister Papoulias stressed the importance Greece attaches to the development of friendly relations with Croatia. Greek foreign policy will be directed toward the

normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia. Because of its links with NATO and the EU and its position as the chairman of the EU Ministerial Council, which it will take over in January next year, Minister Papoulias believes that Greece can play an important role in overcoming the crisis and the restoring of stability throughout the area. Supporting President Tudjman's peace initiative dealing with the solution for the protected areas and reaching peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Minister Papoulias stressed that Greece is ready to make a comprehensive contribution to a permanent peace.

At the end, President Tudjman expressed satisfaction over the fact that an accord was reached regarding all important issues concerning peace. He also accepted an official invitation to visit Greece.

The talks were attended on the Greek side by Ambassador Zakharakis, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Greek Ambassador to Croatia Ioannis Dhrakoulakos; and Ambassador (Angelakis), director of the office for the Balkans in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They were attended on the Croatian side by Jure Radic, head of the Office of the President of the Republic; Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Hrvoje Sarinic, the president's adviser for national security and head of the office for national security; presidential adviser Branimir Jaksic; Croatian Ambassador to Greece Ivica Mastruko; and Assistant Foreign Minister Andjelko Simic.

Papoulias Cites 'Important' Talks

LD1011181393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Karolos Papoulias assessed his talks with Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman as very important and expressed hope that concrete results would very soon become evident.

We had genuinely important talks, which we expect to bring good results to the Balkans and Europe, the Greek foreign minister told journalists following the talks. The results of these talks, according to him, should become evident very soon.

Prior to the talks with the Croatian president, Papoulias met representatives of Croatian opposition parties. The Greek foreign minister is to leave Zagreb for Slovenia this afternoon.

Further on Zagreb Meetings

NC1011181293 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Report by Nikolaos Meletis from Zagreb]

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias held talks in Zagreb and discussed the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croat objections to the lifting of the embargo, and bilateral relations. At noon today, the Greek minister met Croat President Franjo Tudjman; yesterday he met Croat Foreign Minister Mate Granic [title as heard] and Bosnian Croats leader Mate Boban.

The Croat side hailed the initiative on the Balkans and the Greek minister's tour. Regarding Bosnia, it was said that the Franco- German plan may soon lead to a solution of the crisis. The Croat Government insisted that the resolution of the Bosnian problem must be linked to the issue of Croat territory in Krajina.

The Croat side appeared particularly interested in developing bilateral economic relations. Papoulias said the Greek finance minister will visit Zagreb soon and an ambassador will be appointed to Croatia.

[Begin Papoulias recording] I believe there are several possibilities that both countries can use to develop bilateral relations. [end recording]

The effort to organize and construct a modern, German-type state separated from the Balkan-Yugoslav past is obvious in Croatia, which considers the European Union and the Greek Presidency's support as necessary to this effort.

Defense Minister Wants NATO Air Support

LD1011205993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak is on a visit to the United States. Here is an excerpt from a news conference held by Minister Susak in New York today.

[Begin Susak recording, in English with superimposed Croatian translation] We need a much stronger UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate and more international involvement, NATO forces by all means, if possible. We do not need NATO forces for combat on the ground. We want them to supervise the borders and provide strong air support.

The initiative for a new peace conference, launched by certain European countries, only postpones a decision on what needs to be done in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Geneva conference, even though it did not satisfy the Muslims' needs, is in our view a good starting point. That conference should be renewed with invitations to all countries that wish to take part. [end recording]

Further on Susak's Comments

LD1111105193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak was a guest of the Carnegie Foundation for Peace in the World in Washington. On this occasion, he briefly explained the political and military situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and answered journalists' questions.

Asked whether he was satisfied with the talks he had had in the Pentagon and the American Congress, Susak said

yes. He rejected the possibility that economic sanctions might be imposed against Croatia, noting that Croatia has done nothing to justify such an action. Concerning Croatia's involvement in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Susak stressed Zagreb's repeated requests for the introduction of a strict control of Bosnia-Herzegovina's border, not only with Serbia, but also with Croatia.

Asked whether the Croatian Army is today strong enough to end the occupation of its territories by force, and how long such an action would last, Susak said that in purely military terms, the action could be completed in a week, but that Croatia would have to pay a very dear price, and it wants to solve the crisis by peaceful means. [passage omitted]

Deputy Foreign Minister Cited on Bosnia, Krajina

AU1111181693 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Report by Konstanze Ripar on statements made by Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader in Vienna on 11 November; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Ripar] Franjo Tudjman's peace initiative has primarily one goal: The fighting in Bosnia should be stopped before winter so as to prevent the death of many thousands of people from starvation and exposure. However, Tudjman has practically nothing to offer, at least nothing new. There is to be a cease-fire at first, and then the troublesome issue of the territories is to be dealt with again in working groups.

The positions are rigid, both in Bosnia and in the Krajina. Would the Croats be ready to make some more concessions to the Muslims in Bosnia?

[Sanader] "If your question aims at what the Croats could give up, I can tell you that the Croats have already given much to the common cause with the Muslims in Bosnia. It was the Croats who at the beginning defended not only the Croat territories in Bosnia but also the Muslim areas. If one now asks the Croats in Bosnia to give up a certain percentage of their territory to the Muslims, the least one can say is that this would be incorrect and illogical."

[Ripar] But did the Croats not conquer far more territory in this war than they inhabited before? No, Sanader says, they had much more before the war.

Croatia's position is similarly uncompromising as regards the problem of the Krajina. The disloyal Serbs in Knin have proclaimed their own republic and are not willing to integrate themselves again in the Croatian state, even though the United Nations demands that. Croatia, however, insists that this area, which constitutes about one-third of the Croatian territory, must once again come under Zagreb's control. Either the Serbs agree to that—then things could be settled peacefully—or, Sanader says, Croatia would have to act with all means of a sovereign state, and then there could be new bloodshed. Of course, one wants to avoid that, but one is willing to risk it in order to reestablish Croatia's sovereignty. Would he prefer war over giving up the Krajina?

[Sanader] "God forbid, I do not prefer it, but it is our duty."

Artillery Attacks on RSK Areas Kill Two

LD1111141593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Knin, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—Two persons were killed and four others wounded in powerful Croatian artillery attacks on Serb villages in the area of Benkovac in the southwest of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), the RSK Army command said in a statement on Thursday.

Material damage in the villages of Biljane Donje, Biljane Gornje, Smiljcic and Druga was extensive, the statement added. The RSK command also reported Croatian attacks on Wednesday evening on other sections of the northern Dalmatian front, and on the Banija and Kordun fronts in the northeast. RSK troops were forced to respond to all attacks, the command added.

The RSK was formed in late 1991 in predominantly Serb-populated areas within the administrative boundaries of communist Croatia, in response to Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and attempts to downgrade the Serbs, a full-fledged nation until then, to a national minority. The RSK was placed under U.N. protection in spring 1992.

Federal

Five-Million Dinar Note Issued

LD1211131293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1217 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia issued a note of five million dinars (roughly equivalent to seven Deutsche marks) on Friday, in an effort to combat a shortage of cash in conditions of hyperinflation.

This is the third new note to be circulated in less than a month—a 50,000-dinar note appeared on October 14, and a 500,000-dinar note, on October 30.

When it appeared two weeks ago, the 500,000-dinar note was worth about 200 Deutsche marks at the official exchange rate, or 9 D-marks on the street, but has since dwindled to less than one D-mark, both at the official and the black market rates which have meanwhile been brought very close together by a devaluation of the national currency on Tuesday.

Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro), which has been labouring under air-tight international sanctions for the past 18 months, has a world record inflation rate which unofficial estimates put at 0.5 percent per hour.

Retail prices rose by nearly 1,900 percent in October.

Experts of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (Central Bank) are hinting at the possibility of another revalorisation of the national currency before the year is out. The last time the dinar was redenominated on October 1, when six zeros were knocked off.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic is skeptical about the chances of any serious measures to curb the run-away inflation for as long as the severe international sanctions are in force, which have halted all export and import and financial transactions with the world and frozen Yugoslavia's assets abroad.

The U.N. Security Council imposed the sanctions in late May of 1992 for Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in civil war raging among the local Moslems, Serbs and Croats in neighbouring Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Commodity, Money Markets in 'Turmoil'

LD1211161093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1439 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav commodity and money markets are in a turmoil—there is an acute shortage of ready cash, the shops are all but empty, the prices are rising by the hour... [ellipses as received]

The latest wave of price hikes earlier this week has placed most necessaries of life out of reach of the average wage earner. For instance, a kilo of meat sells on Friday for the dinar equivalent of 25 Deutsche marks in Belgrade and for 13 D-marks in New York, toothpaste costs 20 D-marks or 40 times more than in most European capitals.

Serbian pensioners' checks for November, which are being distributed on Friday, are worth 5 D-marks on the average. "The average check is not enough to pay for the most modest living costs for three days," says Vladimir Djordjevic of the Serbian Pensioners' Association.

Sociologists estimate that 97 percent of the population of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) are in the poverty brackets after nearly 18 months of draconic international economic sanctions.

A family of four needs 23 minimum monthly wages to pay for the humblest of food requirements a month, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA calculated on Friday. The minimum wage is defined every month by the government, the trade unions and the Serbian Chamber of Commerce. For November, it stands at 10 million dinars or less than 15 D-marks.

The practice of defining the minimum monthly wage was started in July and is used more or less for accountancy purposes, since there are no guarantees that a firm will be able to pay the amount to its workers. According to trade union estimates, 60 percent of the firms are unable to do so.

A recent poll conducted by the Belgrade Market Research Institute has shown that three-fourths of Yugoslavia's industrial capacities were idle in October through shortages of fuel and raw materials.

A ban on exports and a suspension of all financial transactions with the world have made hard currency a commodity in short supply, too. The price of hard currencies is such that the D-mark tripled its value from morning till night on Monday.

The traders are adjusting the prices of their wares to keep step with the soaring exchange rates of the hard currencies. According to some estimates, the inflation rate stands at 0.5 percent an hour, and economists see no hope of a respite for as long as the sanctions are in place.

Kontic Explains Government Economic Measures

AU1011120093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Statement by FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic at a news conference in Belgrade on 9 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I would say that we have recently been witnessing completely autonomous currents on the monetary and foreign exchange sector. This is above all shown in the increase, an abnormal increase, of the exchange rates of some foreign currencies, ignoring any economic laws or criteria. In a few days alone, these exchange rates have increased multifold.

It is certain that a part of this lies in an insufficiently restrictive economic [pauses] monetary policy, and even in an insufficiently consistent economic policy, and particularly in the part involving the cover of budget deficit from the primary issue. Here I have to point out that this is our reality and that this deficit is not only a necessity of the moment, but that it certainly cannot be eliminated. I would say that, under the conditions of the sanctions, it cannot even be reduced.

However, what happened recently is the fact that the exchange rates have really ran rampant and that the commodity purchase has increased. I would say that this is the result of speculation that has simply increased to an unprecedented degree. I am not going to speak in absolute figures, but it is still possible: Today, during the day, I do not know, the credit transfer rate [ziralni kurs] was more than 1 million dinars for, of course, one German mark, the supported rate [sticovani kurs] was almost 2 million dinars, and the black market exchange rate, the one offered in the street, went somewhere between 500 and 700 [figures as heard], depending on whether it is the buying or selling rate. In our opinion, there are no economic reasons for such differences in exchange rates, and the excuse, or rather an interpretation of such differences, lies in the profit gained through various speculations and illicit dealings.

If we allowed such an exchange rate course to continue, it is certain that a financial breakdown or the breakdown of the financial system would ensue very soon, so, this evening, we decided in favor of a more serious control of monetary and foreign exchange currents. At the same time, this is not in favor of administrative measures, but in favor of preserving market elements to the greatest possible degree, a degree possible under the present conditions, that is, the conditions of working under sanctions. In this connection, the Federal Government, together with republican governments, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and the Service for Financial Transactions today issued a series of measures. I am going to list only some of them and the other people present will, if need be, provide more detailed explanations.

First of all, I would begin with the regulation on amendments to the regulations on the method and organization of the work of the unified foreign exchange market. Our basic approach was to provide a unified foreign exchange policy and a unified foreign exchange market and, with this in view, we reduced the interbanking meeting of the unified foreign exchange market to a maximum of 10 members. At this meeting, one would establish a unified rate of exchange that would be obligatory for all legal entities.

I would not like to elaborate on the decision on how the unified foreign exchange market is going to be organized and work. Parallel to this, we adopted a decision to change the conditions for granting short-term loans to the banks on the basis of the definite sale of the deposited citizens' foreign currency savings. Because of monetary considerations, we were forced to reduce the amount of foreign currency that can be withdrawn per month, from 30 German marks [DM] to DM20. You will see, a bit later, that the justification for this reduction was found in the change of the official exchange rate of the dinar.

Third, we also adopted a decision to temporarily suspend the operations and block the giro accounts of savings institutions, saving-lending cooperatives, saving-lending services, and other financial organizations that were set up in accordance with federal and republican regulations.

Mr. Gazivoda [deputy governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia] will probably speak about this in more detail. I will only say that, with this decision, we temporarily suspended the operations and blocked the giro accounts of these organizations until the end of this year. In addition, we also adopted a decision with which we empowered the director of the Service for Financial Transactions to take measures against legal persons who, in contravention to their legal powers, are involved in financial transactions, unlawfully, of course. I am primarily referring to various agencies of this type of saving-lending cooperatives and organizations, and others, which were dodging the decision to block the work of the savings institutions that are not working according to the regulations.

At the same time, we recommended to the director of the Service for Financial Transactions to instruct a documented check that would in fact ensure the lawful implementation of our decisions and the definite abolition of a different level of the giro rate. By introducing this and other measures that you will hear about, we intended to abolish this giro rate, which was 50 percent higher than the black market rate, and not to abolish the giro deposits.

I would like to describe rather than define the next measure, because the funds from the primary issue of money used to cover the budget deficits of the federation and the republics, and which were travelling via commercials banks before reaching the final users, are placed at this moment on deposit with the National Bank of Yugoslavia and are used only when they are needed for the purposes specified by the budget.

Other budgetary funds, the real funds earmarked for selective loans, remain on the same course.

The next decision, which you will find very interesting, is the decision regarding the calculation of the dinar exchange rate. We have decided that, in the future, the dinar rate of exchange be formed on the basis of supply and demand. On the basis of that, and at the proposal of the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, that is the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Federal Government tonight agreed that $1 should be worth 700,000 dinars in the future. The exchange rates of other foreign currencies will be derived from that.

In the future, this rate of exchange would be decided on at inter-banking meetings on the foreign currency market on the basis of supply and demand. This meeting, as you remember, would be attended by 10 banks at the most, and they will be decided on by the governor. The exchange rate would be fluctuating and would be set on a daily basis. This rate of exchange would be valid for all financial transactions. This also means for the old foreign currency savings, for paying customs duties, and everywhere else where we had different, dual rates of exchange.

In addition, we also decided to introduce custom duties and levies for the goods in transit through Yugoslavia, because we have established that the bulk of these goods is not in fact transiting the country, but ends up in Yugoslavia itself. The transit licenses are only used to avoid paying duties to the federal and republican authorities. This is now being stopped, in a way. Of course, if the transit is genuine, these funds would be returned on exiting the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

At the same time, the two republics would introduce the so-called transit tax for a certain number of products, a tax that would be payable at the border itself. This refers to a certain number of products. I will not spend more time on them now.

Government Asks UN Group To Help Lift Sanctions

LD1111203193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1755 GMT 11 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Thursday said it hoped the U.N. Committee for Children's Rights would help eliminate "the deeply unfair and inhumane sanctions" introduced against Yugoslavia by the U.N. Security Council, because children were extremely seriously affected by them.

The Yugoslav Government said it was both the moral right of Yugoslavia and its duty to the younger generations to make such an appeal to the U.N. comittee, because it said the sanctions violated the rights of the children as defined in the relevant international convention.

When it ratified the convention on children's rights, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia agreed to honour all the convention's provisions and had done so, but, due to no fault of its own, it now finds itself in a position in which it is unable to implement the basic provisions of the convention because of the impact of the sanctions, the Yugoslav Government said.

The Yugoslav Government, which discussed and approved a report on problems and difficulties in the implementation of the convention on the rights of the child, which it will submit to the world organization, said it hoped Yugoslav representatives would be invited to participate in the discussion on the respective violations of the convention on children's rights, the likes of which it said had never before been recorded.

The Yugoslav Government approved a draft programme of the visit to Yugoslavia of International Committee of the Red Cross President Cornelio Sammaruga from November 22 to 24.

Libya Offers 'Good Offices' To Resolve Crisis

LD1111151293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic today received 'Ali al-Turayki, special envoy of Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. In the previous government, al-Turayki was Libyan foreign minister and has now come to Yugoslavia to offer Libya's good offices for the resolution of the Bosnian crisis.

In the course of the talks they examined the current peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina and evaluated possibilities for offering support to the peace efforts of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the international community to stop the conflicts and to start restoring relations of trust and cooperation between the warring sides in this former Yugoslav republic.

The meeting also focused on cooperation between the two countries and the forcoming visit by Minister Jovanovic to Libya.

Serbia

Milosevic Holds Talks With Russia's Churkin

AU1111203993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received today Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president. Belgrade is the first stop on this tour of the Russian deputy foreign minister, who is to proceed to Pale and Sarajevo tomorrow, and then to Zagreb, Rome, and Athens. The purpose of his mission is to learn about the new realities after the Muslims rejected the peace agreement on Bosnia.

During the rather long and open talks about the further course of the negotiating process that would lead to the final establishment of peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as other political issues of significance for the solution to the Yugoslav crisis, views and assessments were exchanged on the latest developments in the region.

Special consideration was given to the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, whose continued enforcement was devoid of any grounds. The contribution of the Republic of Serbia toward the reaching of final peace on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was

underlined during the talks, as was the conviction that the signing and implementation of the peace agreement among the three sides in the conflict was the only condition for the lifting of the sanctions. That is why the resumption of the talks and encouraging the sides in the conflict to reach an acceptable solution as soon as possible was in the interests of all and particularly in the interest of peace and stability in this region.

The talks also concerned the import of gas from Russia. Vitaliy Churkin informed President Milosevic about Russia's effort in realizing this project. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also participated in these talks.

Milosevic Receives Visiting Libyan Envoy

LD1211101093 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0755 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Tripoli, 11 Nov, (JANA)—Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Serb Republic, received Dr. 'Ali 'Abd-al-Salam al-Turayki, Libyan envoy of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, charged with following up the implementation of the brother leader of the revolution's initiative to find a peaceful solution to the current conflict in what was previously known as Yugoslavia. He conveyed a message from the brother leader of the revolution concerning the efforts that the brother leader was exerting to find a peaceful solution to the problem, to halt the ongoing war in the region, and concerning bilateral relations.

President Milosevic expressed his appreciation for the efforts that the brother leader of the revolution and the Great Jamahiriyah was exerting to reach a peaceful solution to the problem. He asked that his greetings and appreciation for the brother leader be conveyed back to him.

Bread Prices Rise by 400 Percent in Belgrade

LD1111101993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0909 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The price of bread went up by 400 percent as of this morning, according to Bosko Barisic, director of the Belgrade baking industry. [passage omitted]

Seselj Criticizes Government; Panic To Head Ticket

LD1111211093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—The central feature of the campaign for the early parliamentary elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Thursday was opposition leader Vojislav Seselj's sharp criticism of the Federal government and President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Seselj's allegation that an attempt on his life was made by Serbia's police.

Seselj, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), the strongest opposition party, told a news conference in Belgrade that the crash between his official car and a car driven by an employee of Serbia's Interior Ministry in the centre of Belgrade in September was a result of the police plans to kill him.

Seselj said the Federal government was made up of "criminals, profiteers and a financial mafia" and "thefts in high places would not be possible without Milosevic's knowledge and approval."

Speaking about Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, the leader of the newly founded party of Serbian Unity (SSJ) and former member of Serbia's parliament, Seselj said, "everybody knows that Arkan is the chief criminal in Belgrade and Serbia, but he operates under the highest patronage of the regime."

Seselj said his own party would not start social unrest because it feared it could be bloody and the regime could use it to ban the SRS or to put off elections and impose a dictatorship.

Nearly 20 SRS members were recently arrested on suspicion of carrying out terrorist operations and committing crimes against the civilian population.

It was announced in Novi Sad, centre of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, on Thursday that former Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic would head the joint ticket of the "Democratic Coalition for Vojvodina."

Leader of the Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina (RDSV) Dragoslav Petrovic told a news conference that his party, the Party of Yugoslavs, and the National Peasants' Party would be members of the coalition and that talks were under way with some other parties.

Panic, a Serb-born U.S. businessman, was candidate for the president of Serbia in the 1992 elections but lost to Milosevic. He shortly after had to step down as Federal prime minister because of a no-confidence vote in the Federal parliament.

The RDSV will campaign for peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the achievement of the interests of the Serbian people outside Yugoslavia's borders strictly by peaceful means, election rights for national minorities, and a democratic, market-oriented and decentralized Serbia within Yugoslavia, Petrovic said.

Opposition Leader Appeals For 'Unhampered' Aid

LD1011234093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2212 GMT 10 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (TANJUG)—Serbia's opposition Democratic Party official Zoran Djindjic has appealed to the U.N. Security Council [UNSC] members

to vote for an unhampered delivery of heating fuel, medical supplies and food to Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro).

Djindjic wrote to the governments of the Security Council states on Wednesday, asking them to convey the appeal to their representatives on the U.N. Sanctions Committee before that body rules on Thursday on Russia's request for permission to export gas to Yugoslavia.

Djindjic said that Serbia was shortly to vote in early parliamentary elections, called for December 19, and that democratic changes necessitated normal living conditions in order to be carried out.

Economic sanctions, for which no valid excuse, let alone a reason, can any longer be found, and the hampering of humanitarian deliveries to the Yugoslavs, are not only preventing democratisation in any form, but threatening the very survival of the people, said Djindjic.

The sanctions, clamped by the Security Council in late May of 1992 for the country's alleged involvement in civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, are making difficult if not impossible the delivery of humanitarian aid and the import of food and medicaments.

Russia Selling Missile Systems to Serbia

94BA0080A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 93 pp 8-9

[Article by Fran Visnar: "Russia Has Sold Serbia Supermodern Heavy Missile Systems"]

[Text] Are the Russians and Serbs concluding transactions on the sale of heavy missile weapons and other equipment in spite of the embargo? The answer is affirmative. Some systems have already been delivered to Serbia, others are in the phase just before delivery, while still others will be delivered only when Belgrade manages to procure the money (in addition to "offsetting" old debts of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia, there are also foreign exchange reserves from the former joint account of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] in which funds were kept from the sale of Yugoslav weapons to various developing countries between 1985 and 1990).

Back in 1986, what then was the General Staff of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] showed an interest in the new generation of Russian air defense systems. In the period from 1987 to 1988, the Yugoslav generals signed a contract in Moscow for delivery of SAM-11 Gadfly surface-to-air missiles to be used in the troops. The destabilization of the USSR and events in Yugoslavia prevented delivery of 16 mobile SAM-11 launchers with a total of 164 SAM missiles (four missiles are located on one platform on crawler tracks). The delivery was accomplished early this year, as confirmed by British and Swedish military research sources and by articles in the NATO professional press.

The new thing is that in addition to the SAM-11's (Russian designation BUK), the Serbs also asked for an entire series of various air defense and antimissile systems. Their list included light infantry air defense launchers, the Gremlin SAM-14, the SAM-16, and the SAM-18, which the Serbian infantry in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the "krajinas" would use to replace the older Strela 2M (SAM-7) system. These models have been significantly modified, they have a stronger warhead, they are more resistant to infrared jamming, and in what are called leaps (the firing of additional pyrorockets) they even attack the cockpit and engines from above.

Even Against a "Stealth" Fighter!

The Serbian generals showed a great interest in the mobile SAM-19 2S6 air defense system.

Eight launchers are mounted on a crawler-track vehicle; they fire missiles with a minimum range of 30 meters and a maximum range of 10 km. The launchers are paired with two 30-mm cannons with a high firing speed.

They are controlled by a sighting radar which acquires a target at a range of 12 km, and begins to track it automatically at a range of 8 to 10 km. The cannons are tied in with the missiles; they open fire automatically; that is, once the target enters the zone of effective operation, the gun opens fire according to a regime programmed in advance which the operators cannot influence. A second solution is fire control by the operators according to need. The SAM-19 2S6 is supposed to stop the American "Stealth" fighter, the F-117, when it operates at low altitude.

The Serbs agreed to first get the SAM-11 Gadfly (BUK). They have had the greatest praise for the capabilities of missiles on the four-track launcher mounted on a heavy self-propelled crawler, Model 9A310, which develops a speed of 65 km/hr and has a maximum range of 500 km. Each missile weighs 690 km, contains a high-explosive charge weighing 70 to 90 kg (the missile has a diameter of 0.4 meter, a wingspread of 1.2 meters, and a length of 5.6 meters). The equipment of the battery also includes the scan-and-search radar TAR 9S18 and the command vehicle (on crawler tracks) CP 9S470, which tracks between 15 and 74 airborne targets at the same time. The TAR radar has a maximum range of 100 km, and the missile reaches a distance (horizontal) of 70 km. As to altitude (oblique), the SAM-11 strikes targets within a range from 22 to 32 km; the minimum lower limit of operation is 30 meters, and the velocity Mach 3.

The SAM-11 system is delivered together with the self-propelled automatic loader I.I. 9A39, which quickly mounts four SAM missiles on the main launcher, and the heavy trucks KRAZ 255B, which carry the necessary missiles over long distances. The Serbian motivation for acquiring these sophisticated missiles is to supplement the older mobile SAM-6 air defense system KUB (which NATO is successfully jamming) and the desire to bring within range not only Western fighter-bombers, but also the American spy planes TR-1 (successor to the U-2),

and electronic planes for early warning and guidance AWACS E-2 Hawkeye (naval) and F-3A Sentry (B/C), with which NATO and the United States are overseeing the airspace of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Still Only a "Grumbler" System?

Delivery of the mobile BUK system is to be followed by installation of stationary SAM-12 Gladiator and SAM-12B Giant supermissile systems, which at a range of 100 to 120 km can destroy any known surface-to-surface tactical missile made in the West (Lance, Pershing, and Pluto), and then all the Russian models (Luna, SS-21 Tochka, SS-23 Scud A and B), but also the strategic bombers B-52, B-1, and B-2. The Serbs are hurrying to get the Gladiators and Giants as soon as possible; for now they are only Russian strategic trumps.

For every eventuality, Belgrade has also put on the list of deliveries the smaller and cheaper SAM-10 Grumble antimissile systems, specifically types A (three-barrel launcher) and B (four-barrel launcher). That is, the superfast missiles in the SAM-10 system intercept at a speed of 4,200 km/hr and destroy cruise missiles, which fly at an altitude of 25 to 50 meters. Their total range is from 50 to 70 km; they have their own radar, which tracks six targets simultaneously, and the TAR 9S18 radar of the SAM-11 air defense system is used in parallel.

With the SAM-10 A and B system, the Serbs primarily want to protect themselves against a surprise attack of cruise missiles, but also surface-to-surface missiles (it can also bring them down). The SAM-10 will replace the outdated SAM-2 and SAM-3 air defense missiles in the Air Force and Air Defense. The price of each battery of these missiles (SAM-11, SAM-12, SAM-10), together with the radars and other equipment, is $360 million. For example, the SAM-11 BUK system (like the other models) also requires additional training of Serbian crews, which means that Belgrade and Moscow must conclude a more long-term political-strategic arrangement. This inevitably requires that Russian instructors, technicians, and radar experts will spend time on parent Serbian soil, but also on the territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina controlled by Radovan Karadzic's forces.

Macedonia

Further on Arrest of Alleged Separatist Group

Minister Briefs Press on Arrests

AU1111130493 Skopje MIC in English 10 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Frckovski: 'Everything Is Under Control'"]

(Text) At today's press conference, the Macedonian Minister of the Interior Ljubomir Frckovski confirmed that the Assistant Defense Minister Haskaj Hasan Husein was among the seven arrested Albanians, under the suspicion of working against the constitutional system of the state, of smuggling weapons, and organizing paramilitary organizations.

Frckovski said: "There is a founded suspicion that he dealt with giving advice and expert estimates to foreign states, which can be classified as giving out state secrets. Now, it is the turn of the organs of the justice to act."

Minister Frckovski denied that 300 automatic rifles and a list of 20,000 recruited Albanians was found with the arrested people. He explained that only 35 automatic rifles were found, but that it was completely evident that they were making a concept for organizing paramilitary activities with a certain number of people. Frckovski added that there was an attempt for interference from one of the neighboring countries, but refused to say from which one, stressing that it will be revealed after the completion of the court procedure.

The minister said that the weapons were made in China and were most probably smuggled in from Albania.

Otherwise, this is the fourth interrupted arms smuggling channel in Macedonia. The first came from Croatia through Bulgaria, the second from FRY via Bulgaria, and the third, from Salonica [Thessaloniki in Greece] to Macedonia.

Frckovski commented that this case has absolutely no connection with the political activities of the Albanian parties in Macedonia, and that it is only a matter of an independent group of people, out of which three are still in hiding.

Frckovski said that this is not the first case of arms smuggling and organization of paramilitary organizations in Macedonia. Such criminal activities existed before, but were discovered by the police on time, before they politically destabilized the country. Frckovski stated that no specific security measures are being undertaken in the country, as there is no need for that.

Interior Ministry Issues Statement

AU1211091893 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 Nov 93 pp 1,4

[A.D. report on the statement issued by Ministry of Interior in Skopje on 10 Nov: "Illegal Organization Against Constitutional Order"]

[Excerpts] On 5, 6, 7, and 8 November this year eight persons, citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, were arrested on suspicion of the criminal act of "associating for hostile activities," in accordance with Article 136, paragraph 1, and Article 114 of the Macedonian Criminal Law on the case of an "attack against the constitutional order." [passage omitted]

The individuals were engaged in creating military formations and in supplying and illegal infiltrating arms, explosives, munitions, and other military equipment in

the period from the end of 1991 until the present, in cooperation with the relevant institutions and services of foreign states.

In accordance with its legal authority, the Interior Ministry is taking further steps to clarify these activities. This was said in the Macedonian Interior Ministry statement.

On this occasion the Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski held a news conference.

The Interior Ministry of the Republic of Macedonia has recently thwarted a plan by a group of citizens of this state and foreign citizens to set up paramilitary formations with the aim of violently overthrowing the constitutional order of the Republic of Macedonia. This is a result, he said, of two years of activity in this domain, since the independence of Macedonia, in which period several smaller or bigger groups were discovered to be smuggling arms with the aim of overthrowing the Macedonian state order. The greatest part of our previous knowledge was confirmed with the finalization of the action, when we arrested eight persons, while three foreign citizens are still at large, Frckovski said.

Regarding the report yesterday that 20,000 persons had been recruited, the interior minister was categoric in denying that. He said that the figure of 20,000 was related to the planned number of recruits and not the actual number.

From what we know at present, the group of arrested citizens has no connection with any of the country's political organizations, Frckovski emphasized, adding that the activities were exclusively the individual activities of the arrested citizens.

At the news conference the minister also denied the report about the confiscation of automatic rifles, emphasizing that 32 "kalashnikovs" of Chinese origin had been discovered, most probably smuggled into the country from Albania. Within the framework of this two-year Interior Ministry operation around 70 automatic rifles have been discovered, together with some other military equipment. Asked by reporters about the arms smuggling channels, the minister replied that, so far, four routes have been identified: via Croatia through Bulgaria, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia through Bulgaria, via Thessaloniki, and via Albania.

Refusing to answer a question about which countries' services the arrested were in cooperation with, Frckovski said that one of the arrested, Husein Haskaj, deputy defense minister, has been proven to be the one who was transmitting the ministry's professional estimates to foreign services. Moreover, Frckovski continued, he was discovered to be in possession of documents classified as state secret, which were not supposed to be there according to the regulations of the service.

In the official statement issued by the Interior Ministry on the events it was said that eight persons had been arrested, but only seven names were listed. Asked about that by reporters, the minister explained that it had probably been a mistake.

Asked whether Macedonia was taking special measures to ensure state security, Frckovski answered there was no need and that the state services and political structures had been informed about all this in good time, as had the delegations of the international organizations and the foreign missions in the country.

Imer Imeri, the deputy health minister, is not on the list of those arrested, Frckovski said in response to a reporter's question in connection with media reports, but he did not explain his link with those arrested.

All this has been the constant preoccupation of the Interior Ministry, Frckovski said. So far several such attempts to infiltrate arms into the country illegally with the aim of violently overthrowing the Macedonian constitutional order, which have been especially frequent since the country became independent, have been successfully detected. The Interior Ministry will make no compromises regarding this, Minister Frckovski also told yesterday's news conference.

PDP Denies Involvement

AU1111125393 Skopje MIC in English 10 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Albanian Functionaries Involved in Affair With Paramilitary Organizations"]

[Text] Macedonia's Assistant Minister of Defense Husein Hofkaj has been arrested together with a large group of Albanians between 7th and 8th November, under the charge of smuggling arms and organizing paramilitary and parapolice formations with the aim to overthrow the state system in Macedonia. This is said in yesterday's unofficial information on the "Macedonian Television."

The independent "A1" Television broadcasted, in the meantime, quoting its own sources in the Interior Ministry, that also involved in this case is the Deputy Minister of Health Imer Imeri.

According to the information, persons in relation with certain organs and institutions from neighboring Albania and Kosovo, have formed paramilitary and parapolice organizations with the aim of forcefully bringing down the constitutional system in Macedonia by secession of parts of the state and forming the "Republic of Ilirida," and later, attaching it to Albania.

Criminal charges have been brought against the arrested people. It is found out that 300 rifles and other light weapons have been found with those arrested, and a list of 20,000 recruits.

"Macedonian Television" says it quotes sources close to the government, however, the information broadcast at 2000 [1900 GMT], during yesterday's prime time news, looked more like a police announcement. According to

reliable MIC sources, the government wanted to publish this information two days ago, but due to disagreement in the coalition, that was not done.

As it is known, five ministers in the government are from the Albanian party PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity].

The Macedonian Radio was the first to broadcast this information yesterday, with the statement made by Guljaz Fejzulahu, president of the illegal Committee for the Forming of Albanian Autonomy in Macedonia. He confirmed he had knowledge of these arrests of the Macedonian police, but refused to give out any details.

The leader of the parliamentary group of PDP Muhamed Halili stated for the Macedonian Radio yesterday that he knew absolutely nothing about this incident, and that he did not know that the people arrested were members of PDP and had any connections at all with the party.

The radio connected the silence of the Macedonian organs with the wish for the police action to come to an end as quickly as possible. The radio claims that out of the same reasons, the official announcement of the Interior Ministry was stopped yesterday.

The Macedonian public is connecting the news about the police action with yesterday's statement of the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that a strong separatist movement of the Albanians has developed in Macedonia.

Some year and a half ago, at the illegal referendum, the Albanians in Macedonia proclaimed cultural and political autonomy, later on calling it "Republic Ilirida."

Since the multiparty elections in 1990, the ethnic Albanian parties in the parliament boycotted the adoption of the Macedonian Constitution and prevented the introduction of the key system laws.

In 1991, the Albanians in Macedonia also boycotted the referendum for independent Macedonia. Their representatives claim that out of 2 million inhabitants in Macedonia, 800,000 are Albanians and therefore, they should become a constitutive nation in the state.

The Macedonian Interior Ministry issued an official announcement this afternoon, regarding this case The announcement states:

"On 5, 6, 7, and 8 November this year, eight people, citizens of the Republic of Macedonia were arrested, and criminal charges were brought against them due to the founded suspicion of committing the criminal act of "association in order to commit enemy activities" according to Article 136 paragraph 1, and in relation to Article 114 of the Criminal Law of the Republic of Macedonia "attack against the constitutional system." Criminal charges have been brought against Haskaj Hasan Husain, born in 1951 in Djakovica, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, living in Skopje; Arslanu Jusuf Abduselam, 1946 in Tetovo, where he also resides; Murtezani Refet Burim, born 1965 in the village of Odri, near Tetovo, living in Gostivar; Elmazi Lazam Selam, born 1948 in the village Simnica, near Gostivar, living in Gostivar; Demiri Abdula Akif, born 1941 in the village Cegrane, near Gostivar, living in Gostivar; Agusi Sabit Hasan, born 1960 in the village of Klokotnica, near Doboj in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by origin from Kosovo, citizen of FRY, temporarily staying in Gostivar with an unregulated stay, currently in hiding.

"Namely, the people mentioned, during the period from the end of 1991 until today, have been working on the forming of armed formations and the supply and illegal smuggling of arms, explosives, munition, and other military equipment into the republic, in coordination with institutions and organizations of foreign states.

"In accordance with its legal authorizations, the Interior Ministry is undertaking further measures and activities for further investigation into these activities."

VMRO-DPNE Leader Accuses Albania

LD1011200293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 10 November (TANJUG)—Ljupco Georgijevski, leader of the VMRO-DPNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], the largest opposition party in the Macedonian parliament, today accused Albanian President Sali Berisha and the Tirana government of being involved in a conspiracy by Albanian separatists in Macedonia to overthrow the constitutional order of this former Yugoslav republic.

According to Georgijevski, the Macedonian Interior Ministry has discovered all the links between the detained group of Albanians and the Tirana government which had directly orchestrated the separatists' activities through that country's Interior Ministry.

Georgijevski declared at a press conference in Skopje that his party was in possession of information forwarded to the government by the Interior Ministry that shows that the conspirators obtained highly classified information belonging to the Macedonian Army. Among other things, the Albanian conspirators were in possession of data on mobilization centers, and plans had been found for the assassination of Macedonian conscripts at assembly points. Plans had even been made to wipe out entire Macedonian Army detachments, Georgijevski claims.

In Georgijevski's words, besides the detained Assistant Macedonian Defense Minister Haskaj Husein, other high-ranking ethnic Albanian Macedonian Army officers had also been involved in the separatists' activities.

Georgijevski announced that his party would vehemently insist that all the facts regarding this case be revealed and would demand the convocation of a special

parliament session. He accused the Macedonian Government and President Gligorov, whom he described as Macedonia's Izetbegovic, of trying to cover up and minimize this whole case.

Albanians 'Keeping Silent'

AU1211074993 Skopje MIC in English 11 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Unrest and Indignation in Western Macedonia"]

[Text] The news of the arrest of the group of Albanians charged with smuggling weapons and organizing paramilitary formations created a great deal of concern and revolt in the cities in Western Macedonia.

According to media reports, the Albanian political factors are keeping silent, stressing that they cannot express their opinion over this matter without an official announcement of the Ministry of the Interior and an official stance of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] party.

On the streets of Gostivar and Tetovo, the Macedonians are discussing this topic with a great deal of fervor, while the Albanians are noted to be keeping silent.

According to the NOVA MAKEDONIJA informer from Gostivar, an anonymous Albanian close to the PDP leadership, this was a devised act of the Macedonian Government. According to his words, they were not paramilitary organizations formed "recently," but groups formed for the organization of the Albanians in the Gostivar vicinity with weapons and lists of recruits since the time of the dissolution of the former Yugoslav Army and Yugoslavia. The intention was never to overthrow the constitutional system of the Republic of Macedonia, according to this source, and the formation of these military organizations had no connection whatsoever with PDP.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA concluded that this was the first time an Albanian close to the Albanian political top to admit that the Albanians in Macedonia organized themselves militarily.

The Macedonians, who are politically organized in Western Macedonia, are not expressing any surprise from the fact that the Albanians were getting armed and organized to form "Ilirida." Beside the public condemnation by the Macedonian parties, the Turks also expressed the same sentiment.

Albanian Consulate Denies Complicity

LD1111181593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—In a statement today, the official representative of the Albanian consulate in Skopje rejected as unfounded all insinuations and accusations against the Albanian state on alleged links with the group of Macedonian citizens arrested on charges of arms smuggling and association with the aim of violently overthrowing the constitutional order.

The policy of the democratic Albanian state in its support for Macedonia is well-known and has been time-tested. The statement released by the Albanian consulate in Skopje assessed as absurd all accusations that the Albanian state leadership was aware of, and masterminded, the activities of the detained citizens of Albanian nationality.

Such accusations against a friendly state such as Albania and the instigation of anti-Albanian sentiments are not conducive to the development of bilateral relations or Macedonia's stability, the statement says.

It was officially announced in Skopje on 10 November that the authorities had arrested a group of Siptar [Albanian] separatists for hostile association and the undermining of the constitutional order. The group had been active since 1991 in the organizing of armed formations and the smuggling of arms, explosives, ammunition, and other military equipment into Macedonia, in collaboration with certain foreign institutions and services.

The Macedonian press claims that the Tirana regime was behind this whole affair.

Defense Ministry Denies Damage

AU1211075093 Skopje MIC in English 11 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Defense Ministry Denies Infiltration Into State Documents"]

[Text] Macedonia's Defense Ministry announced that not one of the people arrested in the action of the Interior Ministry had any information about the defense plan of the Republic of Macedonia, nor was the system for mobilization disrupted.

With this, the Defense Ministry denied the statement made by Minister Frckovski that there was a founded suspicion that the arrested Deputy Defense Minister Husein Haskaj "gave expert advice and analyses to foreign states."

Ninth Suspect Arrested

AU1211105093 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Eugen Cani, a 32 year old Albanian from Debar, is the ninth member of the top paramilitary leadership that has been arrested and held pending investigation in a court in Suto Orizari in Skopje. He was involved in the undermining of the constitutional order of the Republic of Macedonia and illegal trading in arms.

Cani was arrested on the basis of statements by a group of eight men who had been arrested earlier. According to the information of the preliminary investigation, which is confirmed in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the

district public [word indistinct] in Skopje, and the investigation department of the Skopje court, Eugen Cani was in charge of obtaining and receiving arms from the Republic of Albania and transporting them to certain places in Macedonia, Tetovo in particular.

The cross-examination of the newly arrested men is expected to provide precise information as to where the arms had been obtained. It is also assumed that his arrest [words indistinct] the undermining of the constitutional order and the illegal trading of arms.

Deputy Minister 'Missing'

AU1211125893 Paris AFP in English 1240 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, Nov 12 (AFP)—A Macedonian deputy health minister, suspected of involvement in a separatist plot involving gun-running, has been missing since Monday, his Ministry said here Friday. Newspapers here suggested that Imer Imeri, an ethnic Albanian, had asked both the German Consulate and Turkish Embassy here for asylum, a report denied by diplomats from both missions.

Nine Macedonian nationals, of Albanian extraction, including a senior defence ministry official, were arrested this week in connection with the alleged plot.

The PULS weekly, said to be well-informed on police matters, reported that authorities here had seized a list of 21,630 "potential recruits" to a "pan-Albanian army" whose objective would have been the setting up of an autonomous Albanian region in this former Yugoslav republic, prior to annexation by Albania proper. Training for officers in this militia has been going on in military camps in Albania, the weekly said.

This was strongly denied by Albania on Thursday. Tirana said the affair was "a plot orchestrated by Belgrade" and the Yugoslav secret services which wanted Macedonia to be incorporated into Serbia.

Ethnic Albanians, who account for about 20 percent of Macedonia's 2.3 million people, according to official figures, and 40 percent, according to Albanian sources, reportedly favour autonomy for regions where they are in a majority, or about a third of the republic's territory.

More on Alleged Asylum Efforts

AU1211153693 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 12 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Vice Minister Seeks Asylum"]

[Text] PULS informs that Macedonian Health Vice Minister Imer Imeri, one of the suspects in the latest affair with paramilitary groups in Macedonia, but against whom no criminal charges are brought, has sought but was denied political asylum in the German Consulate and the CSCE mission in Skopje. He also asked the Turkey Embassy for protection, but the answer is not known yet.

NDP Demands Release of Detainees

AU1211171093 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 12 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Rigged Political Process"]

[Text] People's Democratic Party's [NDP] leadership asserts that the imprisonment of several Albanian citizens under the suspicion of their committing a criminal act of joining for enemy activities and attack on the social order in the country is a manipulated political process, not accidentally coinciding with similar processes [words indistinct] the government needed this manipulation, in order to discredit the Albanians and possibly paralyze their attempts to initiate a third international conference for former Yugoslavia.

The NDP demands that the government release the arrested suspects.

Gligorov Disputes Negative Views of Macedonia

LD1111122693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Bitola, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Claims that Macedonia will fall apart and that it should not have been allowed to become a member of the United Nations, which have recently been coming from various quarters, are wrong, Kiro Gligorov, president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, said in Bitola last night.

Speaking before students and professors of the St. Clement of Ohrid University, Gligorov stressed that "the state of affairs shows that Macedonia is independent and autonomous," and that "whether or not it will remain so depends only on Macedonia."

"In many a war we have been victims of attempts to assimilate us and in danger of being annihilated," Gligorov said adding that owing to that experience Macedonia "did not engage in a senseless war," but "opted for the creation of its own state by legal and peaceful means."

The Macedonian president stressed that relations with neighboring countries should be friendly and that "favorable treatment should not be granted only to certain countries, because that would put the new state in a dependent position."

PDP Official Sees Ethnic Climate Improving

AU1011150193 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA 6 Nov 93 p 13

[Interview with Muhamed Halili, president of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, by Erol Rizaov; place and date not given: "We Are Creating a Climate of Confidence"]

[Text] Muhamed Halili is the most influential person in the Albanian political parties. Many Albanian politicians and intellectuals await his statements on the issues because they say his view always prevails. At the beginning of parliamentary life in Macedonia, this young professor of French, with his statements in parliament, provoked a strong reaction among the Macedonian public. With his positions and intonation he used to be considered an extremist, one of the most dangerous nationalist hawks within the coalition of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and NDP [National Democratic Party].

Today his public statements are much more moderate, and some people accept his positions with great respect and esteem. How has Halili changed his personality or political determinations. He has not. Halili has not changed anything in his political attitudes since the first day he entered parliament. It is obvious that changes have occurred on the other side—among the citizens of Macedonia.

That is the biggest capital for Halili and also proof that the Albanian parties are creating a climate of confidence. He claims that only after the second or more multiparty elections in Macedonia will the Albanian issue be fully understood. What is now unimaginable and a cause for shock will then become a reality, according to what Halili categorically claims.

[Rizaov] What is your opinion about the relations within the coalition partners? Is there a crisis in the government and how is it reflected in the work in parliament?

[Halili] I personally did not expect this government to last so long. I expected it to fall soon, because a certain discord was apparent at the very start of the government coalition. This government was not lucky from its very beginning. Only a couple of days after it was formed we had a very restless session of parliament, when some key laws were on the agenda, but nothing came out as a result. This involved the law on identity cards and the law on evidence of birth, that is to say, it happened exactly 14 months ago. The session was interrupted in a very bad atmosphere, and one of the reasons for the postponement in the adoption of the laws was the insufficiently clear determination of one of the coalition partners. The Liberals. The period after this session was, in my opinion, a kind of escape from putting some key issues on the agenda, which was the reason we agreed to participate in the work of the Macedonian Government. This involves, first, the issue of the use of languages in the Republic of Macedonia, the use of the flag, as well as a number of other issues regarding inter-ethnic relations.

It is evident that the government is in crisis. If we look at matters in a more critical way, however, we can see that the government is slightly more stable now than it was at the beginning of its mandate. But there is still a great danger that it might fall one day. The government crisis is also reflected in the parliament, because the work of the parliament also depends on the attitudes of the coalition partners toward certain issues.

[Rizaov] What are the key points of disagreement?

[Halili] Our greatest reservation is that the coalition partners have not created a document that could be called a program or a platform. Not a government program related to parliament, but on mutual relations. That is no accident. Our coalition partners, aware that they were not able to meet some of our specific demands, have deliberately and craftily avoided drawing up a platform for the political action of the government partners. Thus, a coalition government was formed without mutual responsibilities among the partners. As a result of the irresponsibility of the partners concerning all issues, we have a multicolored presence of delegates in parliament.

We have been faced with many strange situations on certain issues. Thus, the PDP finds common interest with what the VMRO- DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for National Unity] proposes, or, for instance, the Liberal Party has some joint positions with the VMRO-DPMNE. It rarely happens, however, that the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] finds common interest with the proposals extended by the VMRO. It is very indicative and it gives cause for general analyses. In my opinion, it means that the SDSM is the strongest party in this coalition and that it has succeeded in transforming its ideas into laws and initiatives and has had a certain success in the Macedonian parliament in having them adopted, and thus, the other coalition partners are in a way overshadowed. The partners in authority are consulted either scarcely or not at all. It happend to us, a parliamentary group, on the issue of Macedonia's admission to the United Nations. We, as participants in the government, as a parliamentary group, found out about such an important initiative only three days after the whole action had ended. Or, for example, regarding the last constitution of the Privatization Agency, when everything was done in such a way that it is composed of people members of different parties, while it is presented as body of experts. In this framework of quantitative relations, we, as participants in the government, have been turned down, because, according to the proportional approach, there should have been three of our PDP representatives. I am not speaking here about national affiliation, because we did not join the coalition as Albanians, but because we are the third major party in parliament.

Parliament Has Done Nothing for Us [subhead]

[Rizaov] Do you think that this parliament and this government will not accomplish its work?

[Halili] Not only do I think that, I am absolutely certain. I am certain that, in its current composition, parliament will never adopt the law on local self-management, for which 80 votes are necessary.

Even if the coalition partners functioned in the best possible way we would never have more than 70 delegates present at the parliament sessions. The fact that three or four delegates are missing from every coalition partner at every parliament session means it is questionable whether we are able to adopt laws for which 61 votes are necessary.

[Rizaov] What can be done in Macedonia right now to establish mutual confidence between the Albanian and Macedonian parties, whether they participate in government or not? What actual conditions are necessary to overcome the mutual mistrust?

[Halili] Inter-party confidence is another matter altogether from inter-ethnic confidence. If we did not have confidence or hope of having a good cooperation with the other parties, we would not take part in government. While, on the other hand, the lack of inter-ethnic confidence is a result of long years' of frustration created by the repression of the former League of the Communists of Yugoslavia, whose instrument of repression in Macedonia used to be the Macedonian League of Communists. It will inevitably take a long time to create full confidence among the fellow citizens of Macedonia, because the past has created certain political, economic, and educational traumas. Something that was destroyed over a period of one or more decades cannot be reconstructed in three years' time. We think, however, that the Macedonian Government has succeeded in reestablishing a certain situation in the schools that was there until 1981. Parliament did nothing. During nearly three years' of action in the Macedonian Parliament, we succeeded in forcing the adoption of only one amendment presented by one of our delegates. And that was all.

I think that our activities in parliament are not a failure, however, and that there have been results that will become apparent only in a couple of years, let us say after the second multiparty elections or in the period after the third multiparty elections. That is precisely what I have in mind. Yet, we are creating a climate of confidence with the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia with the statements we make in parliament. We are creating a different political climate. With our activities and approach we are creating a different relation toward understanding the problems by the Macedonians themselves, which will come out as a result in the years to come.

Shocks for the Macedonian Public [subhead]

[Rizaov] What specific issue would do most to increase confidence with the Albanian population?

[Halili] We should distinguish between what is our long-term demand and what are our short-term realistic requirements. We are aware that our key demand related to the resolution of the constitutional status of the Albanians in Macedonia means to make them a constituent people, which is hardly or not at all acceptable to the Macedonians at present. Or take, for example, the revival of the results after the referendum on political and territorial autonomy. That would also provoke shocks with the Macedonian public, and would again be unacceptable to them. There are some things, however, that need efforts to be able to realize them. Precisely the Macedonian parliament should make an effort to adopt some laws that are in the spirit of the European options. And Macedonia is obliged to do that because it wants to become a member of the international European institutions. For example, it would have been a good action if Macedonia had signed the law on regional languages, or the European map on regional languages, because that is a document adopted by the Council of Europe; moreover, Macedonia also has a duty to accept the additional protocol on national minorities in Europe, a document that is an integral part of the European Convention on Human Rights.

I firmly believe that the moment these three documents are presented to the delegates of the Parliament of Macedonia, it would provoke a trauma for them, despite the fact they refer to European documents.

[Rizaov] Why trauma?

[Halili] If the same delegates refuse to speak to a colleague in his mother tongue, and that was done by an Albanian in 1945, in front of the national delegates of the same parliament (we have the stenographic records), then these delegates will not accept having bilingual street names, judiciary system, and acts of companies, and having the nationalities educated from preschool to university in their mother tongue, all of which is foreseen in the European map on regional languages.

[Rizaov] Do you think it would be realistic for Macedonia to accept the laws of European dimension at this stage?

[Halili] The CSCE conference on the human dimension in Copenhagen introduced something related to predicting autonomy for national groups alongside all the criteria encompassing the judiciary system and the police, and that is contained in a European document accepted by the CSCE. That must be accepted, or what we are in favor of is that the Albanians should gradually become a constituent people of Macedonia.

[Rizaov] We have seen what parliament, that is, the government, should do to encourage mutual confidence, but what should the Albanians do to gain the confidence of the Macedonians, what changes should the Albanians make that they have not?

[Halili] It is my impression that the Albanians have done a lot. For example, we recognize the Republic of Macedonia as our own state. Here, you can see, that on all the territories of former Yugoslavia people are fighting for great states, the Serbs are fighting for a greater Serbia, the Croats for a greater Croatia, the Macedonians for a greater Macedonia, I here refer to a part of the political parties. We are the only ones who said that our option is an independent Republic of Macedonia.

We have given concrete evidence that we are in favor of independent Macedonia through the pleas of our ministers and the voting of our ministers in the government, asking for Macedonia to be accepted as member of the United Nations. We are present in parliament, we are doing our best to solve all issues in an institutional way. We are doing our best to ensure the equality of all citizens in the republic, and we are striving for a better economic future for the state.

We live together, and the fact we want to be equal in all areas of life does not mean the Albanians have not done anything, and their fellow citizens, the Macedonians, should not think they have not done anything. We have concrete proof of that.

We Have Not Envisaged Secession Anywhere [subhead]

[Rizaov] In recognizing the territorial integrity of Macedonia, can you give firm guarantees that secession of parts of Macedonia is out of the question?

[Halili] First, in our programs, we have nowhere envisaged secession. Secession is a part of the propaganda from some parts of Serbian chauvinist circles, with the aim of showing that the Albanians are the greatest threat to Macedonia, while the greatest protection is the Republic of Serbia, or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was a fear deliberately fostered among the Macedonians to make them seek protection from Serbia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I do not know where those people were able to read that we are in favor of secession—especially knowing we are the only people in the Balkans to have recognized the Macedonians under their name and we are the only people in the Balkans who believe the Macedonians have the right to their own national name—Macedonian.

[Rizaov] Do you think it would have helped to create mutual confidence if the Albanians had come out for the referendum on independence, if they had voted for the Constitution in parliament, if they had participated in the census. Did these boycotts not help to breed mistrust?

[Halili] I do not exclude the possibility that it might have had an impact on the ordinary citizens, the Macedonians, and the Macedonian parties, as a reason for breeding mistrust. In looking back on it now, however, I am not so sure that things would have changed greatly if we had supported and voted for the referendum, or the Constitution, or if we had taken part in the census.

Our strongest argument is that we really feel Macedonia is our own state and have a lively interest in the prosperity of the republic in all domains. The fact that the state has not yet created confidence among the people, not treated them as equal citizens, regardless of national and religious origin, is the greatest handicap in our activities in Macedonia at this time.

[Rizaov] The statement that nearly 1 million Albanians live in the republic upset the public. What is your comment on this inaccurate statement?

[Halili] I think these figures are an alternative value to the government figure of 21.7 percent, because the Macedonian authorities do not yet have exact proof that there are 21.7 percent of us. The incompetent statement created ambiguity and misunderstanding among the ordinary people. The statistics department cannot state that in conformity with the census, because we boycotted the census. There are 402,000 Albanians, sometimes 475,000, and at other times 450,000. It means that there are no scientific parameters. Normally, one political thesis, being not scientific, is opposed by another, a political counterthesis.

Therefore we are in favor of a census of the whole population under international control. Only then will we know the exact number of Albanians in the republic.

[Rizaov] Therefore, you admit this figure of 800,000 is not correct. Do you actually know how many Albanians live in Macedonia?

[Halili] I am not a demographer, and I cannot guess what the number is, but there are statistics giving precise figures. For instance, of 245,000 students, 72,000 are Albanians. That is one third. According to that, I can conclude that one third of the population in Macedonia is Albanian.

I Deliberately Exaggerated the Figures [subhead]

[Rizaov] Some of your recent statements, especially in the foreign press, in Sofia STANDARD, and in some Greek newspapers, provoked a very strong reaction in Macedonia. There you talked about the federalization of Macedonia and about 45 percent of the population in Macedonia being Albanian.

[Halili] I have never given a statement to the Greek press, only to the Greek television network ANTENNA, and I am sure they are not pleased with what I said.

Regarding Sofia STANDARD, I have never given an interview to it either. There is a strange custom in the Bulgarian press, which is that they reprint interviews from others newspapers. I gave an interview only to DEMOKRATSIYA, to the journalist Tanja Mangalakova. I deliberately exaggerated certain things because I had the impression and I firmly believed that the journalist was in close cooperation with the VMRO-DPMNE. I then passed on an unrealistic assessment when I said 45 percent of the people in Macedonia were Albanians, because the journalist—instead of asking me—claimed there 15 percent of the people in Macedonia are Albanians, and that is the theory of the VMRO-DPMNE. Since it was my impression that the journalist was using the vocabulary of the leaders of the VMRO- DPMNE, I responded as if I were talking to the VMRO-DPMNE leaders instead of DEMOKRATSIYA.

[Rizaov] Yes, but you are the coordinator of the delegate group. Such statements are detrimental to the state, to your party, and to you, personally.

[Halili] It depends on how serious the newspaper interviewing a person is. For example, I would never have said that to LE MONDE of LE FIGARO, for example, or to any other famous newspaper. Regarding federalization, whatever I told DEMOKRATSIYA I also told the Macedonian media. There are no spectacular statements, except the one about the 45 percent of Albanians in Macedonia.

[Rizaov] Petar Gosev's Democratic Party claims that secret negotiations are under way between the government and the Albanian parties.

[Halili] That is a cheap political ploy. We are in the government, there is no need for us to have secret negotiations.

[Rizaov] How do you view the democratic processes in Macedonia. Are they at a dead end, or do you think there is a certain progress?

[Halili] If I say that Macedonia is a democratic country, nobody can reproach me for praising some inconsistent processes. However, I really think that. There is democracy in Macedonia. It is another matter that there is not full equality, that is another thing and this is the point where a clear line of demarcation should be drawn. As an Albanian, I can feel those waves of democracy, and not only myself, but also all the others, except for the other thing, that is, equality, but nowhere in the world has it been said that these two things must go alongside each other. Equality is a long process in the life of a country; likewise democracy. However, for a short period of two years' multiparty life, we now have defined contours of democracy, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of party and political affiliation. It is my impression that, in relation to democracy, there has been a slowdown in the economic achievements in the republic. We are still a country with a multiparty system, but with a "one-party economy," we still have a socialist economy, and what we lack are the laws on denationalization. It is here that our people's greatest traumas from the period of socialism lie.

It Is Time for Resignations [subhead]

[Rizaov] There is great turmoil in the Macedonian political parties. What is happening in the Albanian political parties? There are rumors about great internal discord regarding the methods and ways to realize some goals, or, is it a case of different goals?

[Halili] I have the feeling that some processes have been slowing down in the party. I intended to form my own party. Later, however, my conclusions were also adopted by the party leadership. Nevertheless, those conclusions were not accessible to the public, and therefore the public did not know, or knew only a little, about the difficulties that had to be overcome within the party. All the situations envisaged by the party presidency and by the delegate group were dramatized by the PDP branch in Tetovo. That was the reason for saying that the PDP branch had different motives from all the other segments of the party. That was not correct. Their motives are the same, but the PDP branch from Tetovo, consisting of younger people filled with enthusiasm created strong reactions. What we thought of as opportunism was for them a case of being in the vanguard.

[Rizaov] Tell us more about this. What is the essence of the misinterpretations within the PDP-NDP. Some of the Tetovo branch's demands sounded more extreme in public than what you pledged. In effect, there was the impression that the Tetovo branch is not in favor of coexistence.

[Halili] First of all, there is no change in the political option. A number of young people were in favor of ending weaknesses in the party's work. They were right, because we also came to the same conclusions, being a delegate group, as well as the party presidency, and normally, when one segment is not functioning in a party, some have to resign or find a way to overcome those weaknesses. Nobody was in favor of extremism. The press, especially NOVA MAKEDONIJA, gave another interpretation of the political struggles among some people in the presidency and the party and the Tetovo branch. It was my impression that some journalists from NOVA MAKEDONIJA wanted to protect or support the politically current PDP Presidency in some way. I had the impression that NOVA MAKEDONIJA was defending the president and the secretary of the PDP, attacking the younger ones and presenting them as extremists, which was completely wrong. The struggle was not for the political option, but for overcoming the weaknesses in the internal party organization. Resignations are inevitable when a party does not function well. Nobody should understand these matters as a personal tragedy. While we were discussing this situation in the delegate group, we concluded that the weaknesses in the party leadership are huge ones and that the current party presidency, together with the party president, had to resign. We even created a group, headed by me, by Mersim Polozani, and Ismet Ramadani, to convey the party president a message that it was time for him to leave office. We did not do it, however, because things turned in another direction. In the meantime we calculated that our suggestion might be detrimental to relations within the party, and therefore we did not convey that stance to the party president. We did discuss these problems, however, and we reaffirmed that stance and concluded that fundamental changes were necessary in the PDP.

[Rizaov] You mentioned NOVA MAKEDONIJA. Under whose influence do you think this newspaper acts?

[Halili] For a long time it was under the direct influence of the VMRO-DPMNE. Lately, there have been certain positive changes.

Political Underground [subhead]

[Rizaov] You live in Tetovo. You know the people well. Witnessing that coexistence, being confronted with all the problems, facing those realities, can you give us a vision of how life will go on in Tetovo, and I think the same applies to Kicevo, Debar, Gostivar.

[Halili] There is a specific situation in this region, because for a long time there existed a political underground that created the state policy of the Republic of Macedonia. The people who were protagonists of that political underground, whose actions were realized at the top of the state, are still present in those towns, and they still have great influence. They want to portray that region as a dangerous region of inter-ethnic confrontations, misunderstanding, and intolerance. I do not have that impression. That political underground is artificially dramatizing the situations. The real situation can be seen daily on the streets, in the market, in the offices, wherever the people live and work together. That is a tolerant milieu where people of different origins, either religious, national, or political, live. Things are not the way they are presented in our media. It is true there are difficulties, but we are far from saying that the inter-ethnic situation will bring the people to the edge of the abyss or that they have already crossed it. Our pleas are to stay away from that Rubicon, because, if we cross it, it will be fatal and tragic for all people living in these regions, where the population mix is more pronounced. So long as we have a success in these efforts to keep the people bacl from the Rubicon, we can say we are successful as political forces active in that region. For many years, however, there were taboo subjects that are now gradually disappearing, because the people understood that the theory according to which an Albanian cannot be a City Assembly Chairman is wrong. Most of the citizens understood how idiotic another theory was according to which the Albanians and the Macedonians cannot live under the same sky. These theories have been proved to be false. In these regions of Macedonia our historic reality should always be put in the forefront. And that is that we have had none, or only a few inter- ethnic and historic conflicts, neither with the Macedonians nor with the Turks.

Kosovo

Serbian Police Arrest, Question 2 Foreign Reporters

AU1111162293 Paris AFP in English 1600 GMT 11 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (AFP)—Police in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo on Thursday arrested a British journalist and the head of U.S. human rights group Helsinki Watch, a spokesman for the Kosovo Democratic League said.

Anna-Wunn Roberts, a journalist for Frontline Television, was arrested in the southern town of Prizren and released after being questioned for three hours, the spokesman said.

Vlatka Mihelic, the representative of Helsinki Watch in the rump Yugoslavia, was arrested along with Roberts as they attended the trial of 14 ethnic Albanians accused of activities against the state. The pair had permission to attend the trial but were arrested and taken to a police station after a court session, the spokesman said.

The Kosovo Democratic League groups ethnic Albanians who make up 90 percent of the population of the province, another potential ethnic flashpoint in the former Yugoslavia.

Supply of Staple Foodstuffs 'Extremely Irregular'

AU1111094493 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Nov 93 p 12

[Report by J.M.: "Deteriorating Bread and Milk Supplies"]

[Text] The supply of staple foodstuffs is still extremely irregular. Long bread lines can be seen again in many Kosova towns, while, despite the recent price increase for milk, it is totally absent from the stores and can only by bought from street sellers.

Although the bread price fluctuates between 12,000 and 18,000 dinars, customers line up for their supplies in the early hours of the morning. However, because of hyperinflation, it is not viable for state bakeries to produce bread at these prices, and they have begun to send to the stores only token supplies that do not meet the demands of the population. It is not just a few people that wait for hours in vain and are forced to turn to private bakeries that produce bread at much higher prices.

Private stores and bakeries in Prishtina are selling a 700-gram white loaf at 100,000 dinars. Because private bakers obtain flour at a price of 35 German pfennigs per kilogram, it is understandable that they keep track of the exchange rate of the mark. Therefore, one must not be surprised as this almost astronomical price. The mark reached 400,000 dinars in Prishtina yesterday, which has compelled private bakers to produce four loaves for one mark.

Even though the price of milk was increased again at the beginning of the week (one liter rose to 60,000 dinars or 220,000 dinars for long-life milk), milk has been absent from the stores for a long time. Citizens are therefore obliged to buy directly from the market, at equally high prices.

Private traders sell one liter of milk (of uncertain quality) at the dinar equivalent of 50 pfennigs.

Private stores also have long-life milk, but customers are increasingly less interested in buying it at such extremely high prices.

The price of dairy products was also increased yesterday. One liter of yogurt rose to 208,000 dinars and cream to 500,000 dinars.